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RECENT THEORIES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

TEXTUAL criticism, by which I mean the practice of comparing differing transcriptions of a text in order to restore as far as possible its original form, must be one of the oldest of civilized man's diversions. Ever since men began to write, they must have been puzzled by the fact that the wisdom of the fathers has not been handed down to us, the sons, in an identical form. It is likely that the priests of King Assur-bani-pal, as they gathered their material for the royal library at Nineveh, compared and corrected the texts which they found on the bricks of Ur, Lagash, and Babylon. We know that after the foundation of the Museum of Alexandria the text of Homer was the subject of constant study, comparison, and correction.¹ Consciously or unconsciously, this agreeable diversion of scholars continued to be practiced throughout classical antiquity and during the Middle Ages,² and flourished notably during the Renaissance, when no humanist believed that he had lived a complete life if he had not edited some Greek or Latin text.

So far as I know, no attempt was made to formulate the rules of this game, the canons of this art, or the laws of this science, until Griesbach, in 1796, in the *Prolegomena* to his second edition of the New Testament, posited two general principles and fifteen special rules which would enable any scholar (as he thought) to determine which

¹ If anyone wishes to learn how far the emendations and changes of the Alexandrian scholars went, he should study the recent edition of the *Odyssey*, by Victor Bérard (6 vols.; Paris, 1924).

² Especially on the text of the Vulgate, which was revised twice during this period, once by Alcuin and once by Stephen Harding.

reading, among several found in different manuscripts, was to be preferred.¹ Griesbach's aim was to re-establish the lost original of the New Testament. Such likewise was the purpose of Karl Lachmann, generally regarded as the founder of modern scientific criticism. In the Preface to his edition of the New Testament, in 1842, and in his later editions of the classics, Lachmann sought to establish as a general principle the classification of families of manuscripts by means of "common errors." His method was used, explicitly or implicitly, by nearly all subsequent editors of early texts. It was first applied to an Old French text by Gaston Paris, in 1872, in his celebrated edition of the *Vie de Saint-Alexis*; thereafter the method was used by nearly all scholars who worked in this field. It was, for the first time, sharply attacked by Joseph Bédier, in 1913, in the Introduction to his edition of the *Lai de l'Ombre*.² Even yet, notwithstanding his objections, which have been repeated by others, it remains the standard method used in reconstructing texts.

Lachmann's method, in fact, has several serious defects. First, he never defined exactly a "common error." In practice, editors have treated as an "error" any reading which did not accord with their sense of fitness. They have always considered themselves competent judges of the intentions of the author as to vocabulary, inflections, syntax, and style. Where the classical languages are concerned, these pretensions have some justification; but one may ask if the grammar, vocabulary, and style of Old French and Provençal are so well known that a deviation can be rightly regarded as an error due to a later scribe. Again, the claim that the Lachmannian method can deduce, from the variant readings of the manuscripts, the *ipsissima verba* of the author, takes no account of the fact that an author may change his mind. We have no reason to suppose that revised second and third editions were any more uncommon in the Middle Ages than they are now. And the final and most telling objection to this method, as M. Bédier has repeatedly shown, is the fact that in practice it almost always leads to the establishment of a dichotomous "stemma," a family tree with only two branches on the trunk, two shoots on each branch,

¹ Here was first stated the rule of the *lectio difficilior*, which has had such a vogue since, and which seems to me far too absolute.

² Paris, 1913. Edition of the Société des Anciens Textes Français.

two twigs on each shoot. M. Bédier, who collected stemmata for years, found that 90 per cent were dichotomous. I have lately confirmed his results in another field, that of the songs of the troubadours. Out of 130 songs for which stemmata have been constructed by the editors, 90 are dichotomous.¹ Of course, it is exceedingly unlikely that only two copies of a medieval text were made originally; the dichotomy must be due to the method.

Within the last ten years two new methods of textual criticism, each with severely scientific pretensions, have been invented and published. The older is that of the learned Benedictine, Dom Henri Quentin, chief of the Papal Commission on revision of the text of the Vulgate. It was explained by him in his *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*,² and later defended and amplified in his *Essais de critique textuelle*.³ The new method has excited considerable discussion among classical and biblical scholars, but the only Romance scholar who has dealt with it appears to be M. Bédier, in two recent articles in *Romania* (LIV [1928], 161-96, 321-56). As Bédier's exposition of Dom Quentin's method is not complete, I may summarize it here.

Dom Quentin abandons, wisely in my opinion, all effort to reach the original; all that he strives to reconstruct is the archetype of the known manuscripts. He abandons also all endeavor to recognize "errors"; he uses all the variants, even the most commonplace, except the purely orthographical. Here his statement⁴ is not quite clear.⁵ He then chooses, at random, a passage or passages from his text long

¹ Practically all the non-dichotomous stemmata of the Provençal lyrics are due to a single scholar, Stronski, in his editions of Elias de Barjols (Toulouse, 1906), and of Folquet de Marseille (Cracow, 1910).

² Rome: Desclée; Paris: Gabalda, 1922.

³ Paris: Picard, 1926.

⁴ "La collation doit être aussi exacte et aussi complète que possible, sur une base invariable, cela va de soi. Il n'y a généralement pas lieu de prendre les particularités orthographiques des manuscrits récents, mais tout le reste: différences de formes, inversions, omissions, ratures, variétés de mains, doit être patiemment relevé" (*Essais*, p. 62).

⁵ Parenthetically, I should like to put the question: Exactly what are "purely orthographical variants" in Old French? No one would deny that such forms as *veut-veult*, *del-dou*, *faire-fere*, are such; but how treat variants that show dialectal or chronological peculiarities, such as *cil-chil*, *volt-viaut-vust*, *priront-prindrent-prisent*? My feeling is that many editors have been too lax in such matters. Every editor should state distinctly what he means by orthographical variants and should print most of them in his critical apparatus, under a separate heading.

enough to supply a typical collection of variants,¹ and lists each variant by a number. Next, by a system of special signs, he constructs a table showing the agreements or differences of each manuscript with respect to each variant, as shown in Table I. This means that as to variant 1, A and B have a common reading, C and D another, E and F another. For variant 2, CDEF have a common reading, from which A and B diverge, each independently.

TABLE I

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1.....	—	—	0	0	+	+
2.....	—	0	+	+	+	+
3.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
4.....	—	0	0	0	0	+

TABLE II

	A	B	C	D	E	F
A.....	.....	15	7	6	3	4
B.....	15	.....	8	9	5	6
C.....	7	8	.....	17	10	9
D.....	6	9	17	.....	11	8
E.....	3	5	10	11	.....	14
F.....	4	6	9	8	14	.....

Next, Dom Quentin constructs Table II to show the agreements of the manuscripts with one another. This table serves to indicate the main families, and so, while not absolutely necessary, is very useful. He then divides all his variants into three classes: *variantes à témoin unique*, *variantes à témoins rares*, *variantes à témoins multiples*. The second group, the *variantes à témoins rares*, serves to indicate the families of manuscripts. Finally, he proceeds to the principal operation in his method, the comparison of manuscripts by groups of three. For example, a comparison of the three manuscripts ABC might result in the following:

$$\begin{aligned} A &< BC \quad 2 \\ B &< AC \quad 2 \\ C &< AB \quad 14 \end{aligned}$$

which means that B and C have in common two variants not found in A, that A and C have likewise two variants not found in B, but

¹ In the Vulgate, a chapter from each book.

that A and B have fourteen variants not found in C. And he interprets this as indicating that AB form a group of closely allied manuscripts as against C. If the comparison gives

$$\begin{array}{l} A < BC \quad 0 \\ B < AC \quad 0 \\ C < AB \quad 14, \end{array}$$

this would mean that A and B are identical. On the other hand, if the comparison produces a table like

$$\begin{array}{l} A < BC \quad 8 \\ B < AC \quad 0 \\ C < AB \quad 9 \end{array}$$

this can only mean that B is intermediate between A and C. He further believes that this notion of intermediacy can be regarded as proved in two other cases: first, when B differs from A and C in a very limited number of variants; second, when the variants by which B differs from A and C are those which isolate B from the others of its group.¹

How are we to interpret this notion of intermediacy? Evidently, the manuscript B can occupy an intermediate position between A and C in three different ways: either B is the original of which A and C are copies, or C is a copy of B which in turn is a copy of A, or lastly B is "conflated" from both A and C.² Dom Quentin then determines which of these three positions is the correct one by internal evidence, that is, by an examination of the variants and a subjective judgment as to the original. At this point, then, he abandons his severely mathematical procedure and introduces the notion of "originality," a notion which is incapable of formal proof. After all these operations are completed, the classification of the manuscripts, the stemma, and the reconstruction of the archetype will follow, says Dom Quentin, naturally and easily.³

¹ *Mémoire*, pp. 253, 258. For a complete exposition of this method of comparison by three's see *ibid.*, pp. 210-30, and the *Essais*, pp. 44-56, 74-95.

² These three positions may be indicated by these stemmata:

1. $\begin{array}{c} B \\ A \quad C \end{array}$

2. $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C$

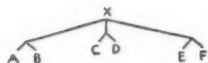
3. $\begin{array}{c} A \quad C \\ B \end{array}$

See *Essais*, pp. 45-46.

³ "Le canon critique pour l'établissement du texte se cueille comme un fruit mûr sur le schéma généalogique, une fois que celui-ci a pris sa forme définitive" (*ibid.*, p. 90).

M. Bédier has already subjected this method and its results to a searching criticism in his articles in *Romania*. I shall have occasion later to show how it works.

Five years after the publication of Dom Quentin's *Mémoire* there appeared a treatise on textual criticism, even more severely scientific in appearance than his. This was W. W. Greg's *The Calculus of Variants*,¹ a short work, well worth reading and pondering, though demanding considerable mental effort. Despite its mathematical title and its algebraic formulas, it is really more of an exercise in formal logic than in the calculus. Mr. Greg seeks, like Dom Quentin, to determine what he calls the "exclusive common ancestor" of a group of manuscripts, i.e., their archetype. To express the relation of this hypothetical x to the preserved manuscripts, he prefers to use an algebraic formula, thus, $(x) A (AB) (CD) (EF)$, which means, in the usual stemma form:



He also gives up the idea of "common errors" and records all significant variants. As to the degree of collation, he leaves that to the individual editor; but, like Dom Quentin, he would exclude from consideration minor points of spelling and grammatical form. All other variants he would collate and use.² That done, Mr. Greg reduces all the variants to a certain number of definite types, with two main classes, simple and complex. Of the simple kind there are two types: $\Sigma^3:A$ and $\Sigma:AB$ or $ABC:DEF$. The "complex" variants comprise types 3, 4, or 5, according as there are 3, 4, or 5 groups in the formula, thus: 3, $\Sigma:A:B$; 4, $\Sigma:A:E:F$; 5, $AB:C:D:E:F$. These formulas, he says, will give us our main lines of descent and enable us to determine whether the variation is successive or independent. That is, if the grouping is predominantly $\Sigma:AB$ or $\Sigma:CD$ or $\Sigma:EF$, then the three groups, say x, y, z , are all derived independently from the archetype A . But if, on the other hand, we find some groups $\Sigma:EF$, some $\Sigma:DEF$, some $\Sigma:AB$, and some $\Sigma:A$, that can only be expressed by the formula $(x) A' A \{B [C(D \overline{EF})]\}$ that is, we have here a successive

¹ Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

² *Calculus*, pp. 17-18.

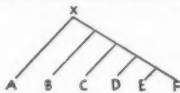
³ Mr. Greg uses the letter Σ as a convenient symbol for "all other manuscripts." The colon (:) means "differ from."

variation from A as the starting-point.¹ Generally, according to Mr. Greg, the simple types will be numerous enough to determine the relationships; but we can also, if we wish, resolve the complex type into a simple one by examining the variant to see if it is an example of determinate (as in AB, *To you I tell*; CD, *To you I say*; EF, *I say to you*) or indeterminate (as in AB, *To you I tell*; CD, *To you I say*; EF, *To you I sing*) divergence. In either case we can get rid of the complex formula by writing it thus, $\Sigma_{CD}:EF$, and neglecting the factorized variant. It will be noted that Mr. Greg proceeds, wherever possible, by two's; never, like Dom Quentin, by three's. In fact, he asserts that when only three manuscripts are concerned, no merely formal process can throw light on the relationship between them. This he calls the "ambiguity of the three texts."²

Having thus delimited all his variational groups and reduced them when necessary, Mr. Greg proceeds to take the important step from variational to genetic groups, that is, to infer, from the observed affinities of the manuscripts, the ancestral grouping, the stemma. He acknowledges that, owing to the "ambiguity of the three texts," the application of the calculus is much limited, because to solve that difficulty it is necessary to introduce the notion of direction, which involves judgments about the originality of readings, incapable of logical proof.³

Thus we see that, for the final operation, Greg's method, like Dom Quentin's, involves a subjective editorial judgment. It is for the editor to determine the direction of variation. No doubt this is possible, in many cases, with a fair degree of probability. And, as good Bishop Butler once said, "probability is the guide of life." Nevertheless, in the last analysis and notwithstanding all claims, mathematical certainty cannot be predicated of either method.⁴

¹ *Calculus*, pp. 23-26. This relationship would usually be expressed by the stemma thus:



Mr. Greg uses A' as a symbol for "archetype."

² *Calculus*, p. 221.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-51.

⁴ As to the claims of the authors of the two methods, one may compare what Dom Quentin affirms (*Essais*, pp. 37-38). "J'espère avoir réalisé une œuvre vraiment objective et avoir écarté l'un des plus grands écueils auxquels soient exposés les éditeurs, c'est à dire, l'arbitraire et l'illusion," with the more modest statement of Mr. Greg (*Calculus*, p. 83), "Its [the calculus'] scope is admittedly restricted, since, without the notion of originality, which has to be imported from outside, it can lead to no definite results."

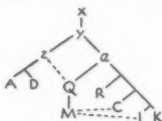
I propose now to present the results of some recent experiments of mine with these two methods, comparing them, when possible, with the results attained by previous editors who used the consecrated method of Lachmann. I was induced to make these tests by the wish to make an exact classification of the manuscripts, and consequently a reconstruction of the archetype, of a text which is now engaging my attention and of which an edition may some day be published, the *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims*. I have now collated nine manuscripts of this text, and it is extremely difficult to classify them, or to construct a satisfactory stemma. I chose for this purpose three long passages, collating 151 variants in all. For the first passage, near the beginning, the two methods produced a classification nearly identical. The comparison by groups of three indicated a conflation of one late manuscript (C) with another (E), which is quite possible, but which was not indicated by Greg's method or by Lachmann's. The second passage (an account of the battle of Bouvines) produced a different result, the two methods failing this time to give an identical stemma. For the third passage (the fable of the wolf and the she-goat, found in only four manuscripts, ABCH) I was unable to reach a classification by either method. Such a result probably indicates that the four manuscripts are derived independently from different sources—a conclusion that for other reasons I am not disposed to accept.

My second experiment was made on a text not yet critically edited, the *partimen* between Aimeric de Péguhan and Guilhem de Berguedan (Bartsch, *Verzeichniss*, 10, 19), which is found in nine manuscripts, ACDIKMQRa. The results attained by both methods were difficult to interpret.¹ Using Dom Quentin's comparison by three's, I found

¹ In order that the reader may control these results himself, I list here all the variants of this piece. Only the purely orthographical variants and those à témoin unique are omitted:

1. v. 2. *al vostre sen* ADMQa, *a vostre sen* CIKR
2. v. 3. *Ieu mantendrai tan ben la sordoyor* ACDIKRa, *i. m. tan gen la s.* MQ
3. v. 7. *chauseta viats celha que mais vos plats* ACDIKRa ... *que plus v. p.* MQ
4. v. 8. *auri'eu* CDIKMa, *auria* AQR
5. v. 8. *sen de tos* DIKMQRa, *sen dotos* AC
6. v. 9. *lo mielhs* AIKMQRa, *del mielhs* CD
7. v. 10. *tos temps voill mais que m' tenga per senhor* ADIKa, *t. t. sapchats voill mais esser s. CR*, *t. t. sapchats que voill esser s. Q*, *t. t. mi plai q'on m'appelle s. M*
8. v. 11. *e qu'hom me tenga car* ADMQR, *e qu'hom mi teng' en car* Ca, *e qu'hom mi tenguen car* IK
9. v. 12. *qu'anc* CIDKRa, *car A*, *qu'ieu* MQ
10. v. 13. *ni anc no fui* ACDIKRa, *ni no sui ges* MQ
11. v. 14. *quel gasanh* ADIKMQa, *que gasanh* CR
12. v. 16. *a mon semblan* CDIKRa, *al mieu semblan* AMQ
13. v. 16. *gaug ni honor* ACDIKRa, *ben ni honor* MQ
14. v. 18. *fai mielhs ad honrar* ADIKQ, *fai mais ad h.* CMRa
15. v. 20. *esser paubres honrats* ACDIKRa, *paubres esser h.* MQ

that the manuscript *a* is intermediate between *A* and *C*, *IK* and *Q*, *C* and *Q*, *C* and *M*; that *A* is intermediate between *C* and *Q*; *M* between *C* and *Q*, *IK* and *Q*; *R* between *C* and *M*, *C* and *Q*; *D* between *C* and *Q*; *C* between *D* and *IK*; *Q* between *M* and *a*. The only stemma which can be devised to fit these involved relationships (if we accept Dom Quentin's assumption that a comparison resulting in zero or one indicates intermediacy) would be something like the following:



which to anyone at all familiar with the troubadour manuscripts will appear most improbable. Mr. Greg's method resulted in not quite a complete blank. As can be seen from the formulas, it showed two constant groups, *IK* and *MQ*, but permitted no conclusions as to the other manuscripts.

Perplexed by these inconclusive and in part contradictory results, I resolved to test the two methods further, by applying them to some texts already edited, of which the manuscript relations had been studied by other scholars. Naturally, I first turned to that much-discussed text, the *Lai de l'Ombre*. For this short poem, preserved

16. v. 21. *qu'avols manens AC DIK Ra, que rics ses jois MQ*
 17. v. 24. *que s'en laissat non AC DIK Ra, non s'en l. ges MQ*
 18. v. 26. *quant aver ... non poc CMQRa, car aver ... non p. ADIK*
 19. v. 27. *nos etz ab lui acordatz AM, vos s'es ab lui a. D, vos n'etz ab lui a. CIKa, vos es n'ab lui a. QR*
 20. v. 28. *qu'aisso AC DIKa, quar so M, quan so Q, que so R*
 21. v. 32. *a sofertar AC DIK Ra, a confortar MQ*
 22. v. 37. *ai vists AC IKa, ai vist DMQR*
 23. v. 38. *quel coredors AD, quel cors d'en ot CIK, quel cors donet MR, quel cors donot Q, [lacking] a.*
 24. v. 40. *que si de prim l'agues faich enansar AD, que si de p. lo laisses enansar CIKa, e sil laisses ab prim ben e. M, e sil laisses de p. ben e. Q, que sil laisses de primas e. R*
 25. v. 47. *que s'amessets cum aissi us vanatz CIK Ra, que s'a. aissi cum vos t. A, que s'a. aissi cum vos comatz D, que s'agueses conques so que cercatz Q, [lacking] M.*

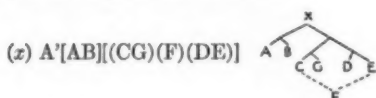
Reducing as far as possible the complex types, these variants can be expressed in Greg's method by the following formulas:

1. Σ :CIKR; 2. Σ :MQ; 3. Σ :MQ; 4. Σ :AQR; 5. Σ :AC; 6. Σ :CD; 7. Σ :CQR;
 8. Σ :CIKa; 9. Σ :MQ; 10. Σ :MQ; 11. Σ :CR; 12. Σ :AMQ; 13. Σ :MQ; 14. Σ :CMRa;
 15. Σ :MQ; 16. Σ :MQ; 17. Σ :MQ; 18. Σ :ADIK; 19. Σ :AM; 20. Σ :M; 21. Σ :MQ;
 22. Σ :DMQR; 23. Σ :AD; 24. Σ :MQR; 25. Σ :MQ:AD.

The comparison by three's gave the following significant equations:

A < Ca	7	A < CQ	1	C < DQ	6	C < DK	14	C < MR	6	C < Ma	4
C < Aa	4	C < AQ	7	D < CQ	1	D < CK	7	M < CR	13	M < Ca	15
a < AC	0	Q < AC	12	Q < CD	13	K < CD	1	R < CM	1	a < CM	0
C < MQ	19	C < QR	7	C < Qa	4	K < Qa	2	K < MQ	17	M < Qa	0
M < CQ	0	Q < CR	15	Q < Ca	14	Q < Ka	17	M < KQ	0	Q < Ma	2
Q < CM	2	R < CQ	0	a < CQ	0	a < KQ	0	Q < KM	2	a < MQ	15

in seven manuscripts, no less than five different stemmata exist already—one made by Bédier in his first edition of 1890, one by Gaston Paris in his *compte rendu* of the same, two more supplied gratuitously by Bédier in his edition of 1913, and finally one by Dom Quentin himself, in his *Essais de critique textuelle* (p. 158). Probably no one will be surprised to learn that Mr. Greg's method resulted in a sixth classification and a sixth stemma, different from all the others. Here it is, with its peculiar formula:



The next texts selected for test were three lyrics, two in Provençal, Bernart de Ventadorn 33,¹ Bertran de Born 31,² and one in Old French, Blondel de Nesle 9.³ In the last case alone did the results produced by the two methods coincide, giving a tripartite stemma, different from the usual dichotomous one deduced by Wiese.⁴ The classifications of the manuscripts of the two Provençal lyrics with resultant stemmata, which were produced by the two methods, were unlike each other and were both different from the classification of the editors.⁵ The comparison by groups of three, in the case of the song

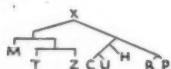
¹ Ten MSS; Appel's ed., pp. 195-96.

² Eleven MSS; Stimming's ed., pp. 185-86.

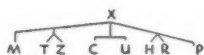
³ Eight MSS; Wiese's ed., pp. 31-35.

⁴ Wiese:

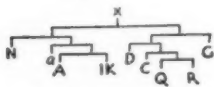
Quentin and Greg:



¹ Bernart de Ventadorn, 33:
Appel



Greg



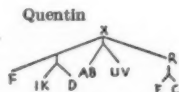
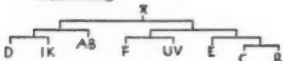
Bertran de Born 31:
Stimming



Quentin



Greg



The reader will remember that when I use the expression "Quentin's stemma" or "Greg's stemma" I mean the figured classification of the manuscripts resulting from their methods as used by me. I have endeavored to apply the two systems impartially and rigorously, but it is of course possible that the application of these methods by their authors would have produced different results.

by Bernart de Ventadorn, brought some very odd results, hard to interpret; these I am loth to accept as the basis of a classification. For example, this comparison

$$\begin{aligned} C &< QR \ 3 \\ Q &< CR \ 0 \\ R &< CQ \ 2 \end{aligned}$$

would prove, according to Dom Quentin, that these three manuscripts belong to the same family, and that Q is intermediate between C and R. If we consider that C and R were both compiled and copied in France, while Q is by an Italian and has never left Italy, the improbability of the Quentin deduction becomes evident. Other comparisons of the same kind, implying that C is intermediate between D and Q, and between D and R, are equally surprising. For the song by Bertran de Born the results attained were less striking. Yet here again, such a comparison as this,

$$\begin{aligned} C &< EV \ 7 \\ E &< CV \ 0 \\ V &< CE \ 8 \end{aligned}$$

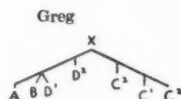
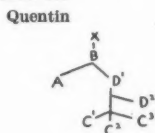
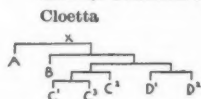
implying that E is intermediate between C and V, would certainly have surprised Stimming, who put V in one family, C and E in another.

Next I turned to two longer texts, both previously edited by careful scholars, the *Moniage Guillaume II*,¹ and the *Lancelot* of Chrétien de Troyes.² In the former I chose two passages, one at the beginning and one near the end. I found that both methods produced a different classification of the seven manuscripts for each of the two passages, a result possibly not surprising in view of the known methods of composition of the cyclic manuscripts of the *geste de Guillaume*, but not considered by Cloetta. Moreover, in neither passage did the resultant stemmata agree with each, nor did either of them coincide with Cloetta's. For the second passage, they produced some very curious results, as may be seen by the stemmata. It is obvious that these classifications are mutually incompatible.³

¹ Cloetta's ed. (1906), vss. 1-41, 4203-43.

² Foerster's ed. (Halle, 1899), vss. 1043-1206, 5652-5760.

³ *Moniage Guillaume II*, vss. 4203-43.



In the case of the *Lancelot* (six MSS), neither method led to any definite result. It is impossible, for me at least, to classify the manuscripts by using either Dom Quentin's or Mr. Greg's *modus operandi*. The only comparison by three's which showed a zero was the following:

C < FT 4
F < CT 8
T < CF 0

which led nowhere. The algebraic formulas produced by the Greg method were likewise entirely confused. No single pattern or group of patterns predominated. The only deduction permissible, it seemed to me, was that no two of the manuscripts derive from a common source. This conclusion is perhaps acceptable if we remember that the *Lancelot* was a fashionable novel of the twelfth century, and as such was probably widely diffused in many copies from the time of its composition and first appearance.

This concludes the account of my experiments in the new methods in textual criticism. I am far from believing that they are in any way conclusive. In the first place, I will admit that I may not have used the methods as their authors would have done, though I must affirm my intention to be impartial and "scientific." Again, it may be that I made a wrong choice of the text or the passage, or that the collation of the variants was not accurate and thorough. As to that, I can only plead that I selected texts which happened to be convenient, without ulterior motives, and that the editors whose variants I used are all serious and careful scholars. It is evident, however, that these experiments do not go far enough. The two methods must be tested much further before we pronounce upon them. I should like to urge all editors of texts which are preserved in several manuscripts to try these new methods and to publish their results. Only by the concurrent efforts of many scholars can we hope to reach anything like certainty and agreement in these matters. Any editor who has struggled with the problem of reconstructing his text would assuredly welcome any severely scientific process, no matter how complicated or abstruse, that would promise him security of result—such security, for example, as the chemists now have in their formulas of reaction.¹

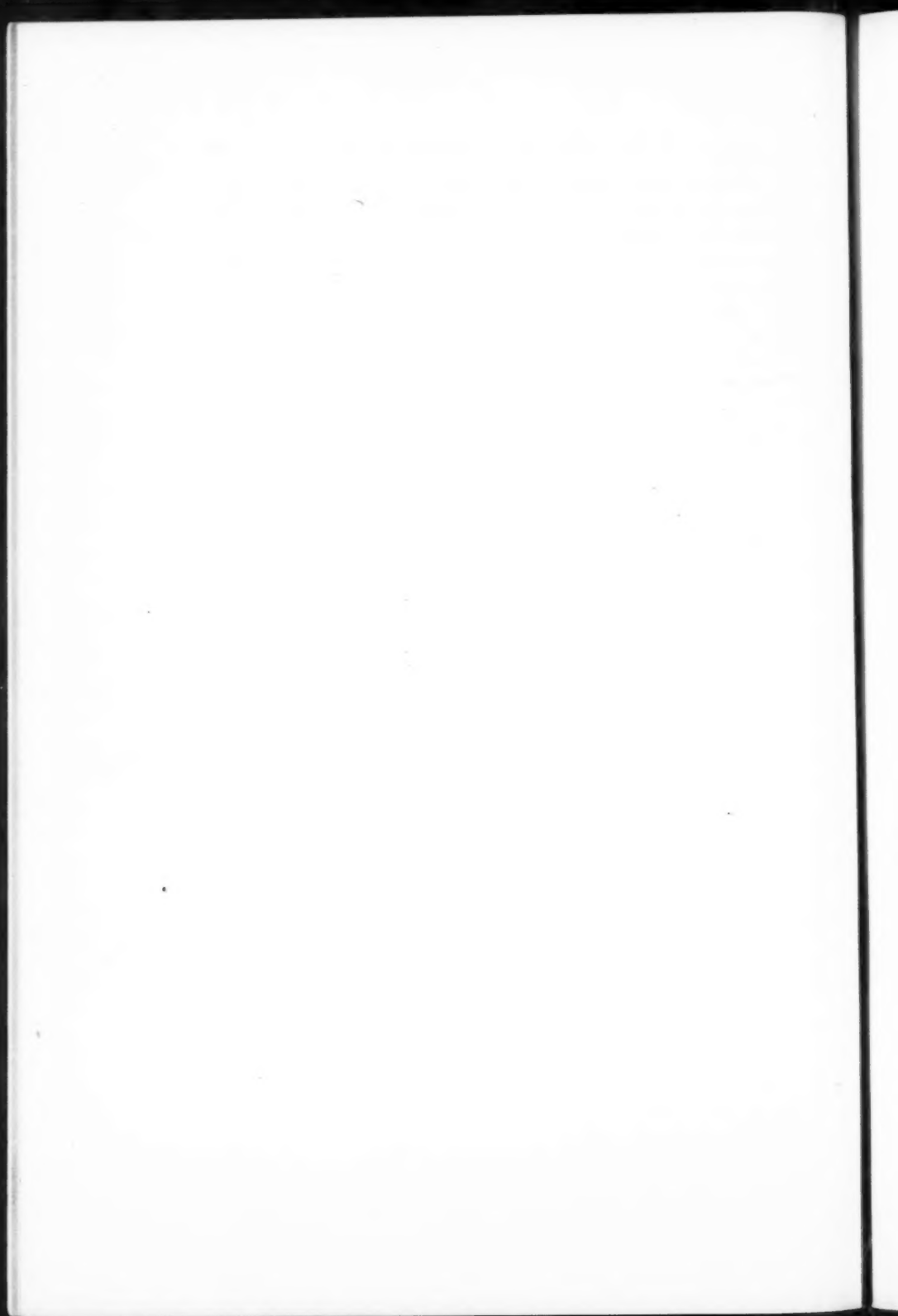
¹ It will be observed that I have said nothing of the procedure of M. Bédier in editing such texts as the *Lai de l'Ombre* or the *Chanson de Roland*. But his method, as he himself asserts, is not new; it is a return to the method of the humanists of the Renaissance

Finally, it seems to me that this matter of a scientific textual reconstruction is but a special case of a more general problem—is it possible to discover the “laws” that govern the different kinds of human activities? Writing, like language, is unquestionably a human activity, a function of men living in societies. Many think that all expressions of the life-processes are capable of reduction to general laws; or, in other words, that a mechanistic explanation of human conduct is possible. We have lately been told that linguistic science is now dealing successfully with human actions without resort to teleology or animism. It may be so, though some of us can remember that the same claims were made by some of the *Junggrammatiker* fifty years ago. So it would seem, at first sight, that an endeavor to explain “without teleology or animism” that portion of human conduct which finds expression in copying written characters might be successful, since copying is a mechanical exercise. But is it? Is it not the brain of the copyist which is always responsible for the additions, omissions, blunders, or corrections which we find in our medieval manuscripts? And, notwithstanding “Behaviorism” and “Gestalt-psychology,” I venture to doubt that the activities of the human brain have as yet found a mechanistic explanation. Of course, we are bound to seek such an explanation if we can; and it may be that some day a law or a formula will be discovered which we can apply to the reconstruction of a text as easily and as safely as the chemists now apply laws of analysis or synthesis. Only, I do not believe that either Lachmann or Dom Quentin or Mr. Greg has as yet discovered such laws or such formulas.

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(though it may be noted that Erasmus' edition of the New Testament, one of the most celebrated, was based on a comparison of manuscripts). He chooses a “good” manuscript and publishes it, with only such changes as he judges to be absolutely necessary. Textual reconstruction is with Bédier not a science but an art; and an art which demands an abundance of knowledge, taste, and tact. It is to be feared that not all editors possess those qualities in such measure as the author of *Les Légendes épiques*.



THE CHARACTER OF ANGLO-SAXON VERSE

I

IN THE earlier days the controversy over Anglo-Saxon versification turned on a four-beat theory versus a two-beat theory, with various modifications of each. Then came Sievers' articles in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*,¹ followed by his section in Paul's *Grundriss*, and the volume *Altgermanische Metrik* in 1893, which established his five-type theory to the satisfaction of nearly everyone. Schipper and Luick accepted it;² Kaluza has been the chief dissentient.³ In the new edition of Paul's *Grundriss* the chapters on metrics are by Heusler,⁴ who represents a different school, but the whole subject is little helped. An article by Professor Routh in *Modern Philology*⁵ attempted to supply an "explanation" of the Sievers types which their author had omitted,⁶ but in so doing ran into certain facts which seemed to defy him. The chief value of his study is that he aimed to interpret the types rhythmically; and incidentally it moved Dr. W. W. Greg to print an old essay of his in which he undertook to correct what seemed "arbitrary and artificial" in the Sievers types.⁷ But the re-working of the original five only plunges us deeper into complexities and yields us an explanation which is harder to understand than what it explains. It would certainly have puzzled Cædmon.

¹ X (1885), 209-314, 491-545.

² *Englische Metrik* (Bonn, 1881-88); *Grundriss der englischen Metrik* (1895); *A History of English Versification* (Oxford, 1910); Luick, *PBB*, XI, 470 ff. In Sievers and in Schipper may be conveniently read a summary of the previous theories; Heusler, as cited below, pp. 116 ff., reviews them—with the agreeable remark: "Es versteht sich wohl, dass jeder die Dinge von seinem Standpunkt sieht; nur geht der Eifer des Anwalts manchmal ziemlich weit. . . ."

³ *Englische Metrik* (1909). Kaluza also reviews the earlier theories at some length (§§ 16 ff.); see § 40 for his regrouping of Sievers' types, and §§ 61 ff. for his *Viergliedertheorie*, with its three main divisions, six *Grundformen*, and ninety types.

⁴ Andreas Heusler, *Deutsche Versgeschichte* (1925). Since the explanation attempted in the following pages differs in so many respects from the earlier theories, it seems to me both tedious and otiose to undertake a detailed "refutation"; and that there are a great many points of agreement goes of course without saying.

⁵ XXI (1924), 429-34.

⁶ "When Sievers investigated the types of Anglo-Saxon meter, he classified them, but he did not explain them."

⁷ "The 'Five Types' in Anglo-Saxon Verse," *Modern Language Review*, XX (1925), 12-17. This was commented on by Professor E. V. Gordon in *Year's Work in English Studies*, VI (1927), 75-77.

The work of Sievers has been from the beginning praised and defended because of its statistical nature; and yet if one looks at the subject without bias or inherited tendencies to err, if one attacks the problem of Anglo-Saxon meter as one would the problem of modern meters, one will be inclined to suspect the statistical approach and to find in it the root of much evil. If one were to go through Tennyson's blank verse, for example, and classify the lines which begin with an iamb, or a trochee, those with a trochee in the second foot, or in the third, those with a pause after the first, second, third, etc., those with elision here and synzeesis there, and so on, one would produce an imposing array of statistics, which could themselves be ingeniously classified in turn, but one would be as far from explaining the prosodic principles of Tennyson's blank verse as Sievers is from explaining the verse of *Beowulf*. This does not mean that Sievers' results are entirely wrong, but that his method and his point of view were entirely wrong. ("Es versteht sich wohl, dass jeder die Dinge von seinem Standpunkt sieht.") The five types unquestionably occur in Anglo-Saxon verse, with all the manifold variations which he and Kaluza and Greg were obliged to recognize. The crucial point is, however, that his types are expository after the fact, are indeed statistics, but statistics arrived at without a proper regard for the principles of rhythm from which they spring.

II

In making a fresh examination of the data of Anglo-Saxon verse I followed the simple, obvious method of deduction. Experimentally, I indicated, with arbitrary symbols, the apparent rhythm of a considerable number of Anglo-Saxon lines, on the assumption—and one must assume something—that Anglo-Saxon verse was spoken, not sung, and that with alliteration as the key a natural prose or rhetorical rendering can be taken as a point of departure. This latter assumption is, I know, sometimes disputed—chiefly, however, by the musical scanners—and these are excluded automatically by my first assumption. For material I chose, at the outset, the *Exodus* in the "Belles Lettres Series" edition because it presents the manuscript (Junius) nearly literatim, that is, offers a text conveniently unemended *metri gratia*. I wished particularly to avoid the difficulties arising from edi-

torial preconceptions of meter. If the text would yield a reasonably satisfactory meaning and tolerable grammar, I was willing to accept it for the present purposes. The vexed problem of non-West Saxon forms behind the present texts (of *Exodus* and other poems) I have deliberately avoided—unwisely perhaps—partly because one is bound to feel, with our present knowledge, a little uncomfortable in any effort to translate a West Saxon poem into Northumbrian, and partly also because the whole prosodic matter is difficult enough as it stands.

After accumulating a body of "evidence" I examined the findings and drew conclusions. This procedure seems a normal and reasonable one and one which we follow consciously or unconsciously with modern verse, or, in other words, one which being applied to modern verse would yield the result which we generally accept. It was probably also Sievers', but he was in search of statistics not metrics. One other assumption seems necessary, if it is not implied in what I have already said—that Anglo-Saxon verse is predominantly one of stress. Stress does not of course exclude time; for there is no way of conceiving the rhythm of language except as elements of stress separated by intervals of time; and if the rhythm is to be thought of as regular, that is, metrical, the time intervals will be in some degree equivalent or susceptible of co-ordination. To this point I shall have to advert later.

One of the first and easiest inferences from a fresh examination of the data is that the present method of printing the two "half-lines" as one "long line" should be abandoned because it obscures the metrical pattern. The "half-line" is the real line;¹ and two of them form a couplet bound together by the alliteration, just as in modern verse by the end-rhyme. The evidence of the manuscripts on this point is ambiguous.² It is notable, however, that when rhyme is introduced, as in *Elene* 1237-52, or incidentally in other poems, and in the later rhyming poem (and still later as in Layamon), the "half-lines" rhyme together, not the "long lines."

There are several reasons supporting this view. The first is that of the ear. The frequently staccato, jerky effect of Anglo-Saxon verse

¹ Sievers recognized this, but gave it no weight. Cf. *Allgermanische Metrik*, § 30.2.a: "Die rhythmische einheit, die halbzeile [though the rest of the sentence is open to doubt] muss auch sprachlich einheitlich sein." That is, the line may contain only one *satzglied* or one self-contained separable portion of a sentence.

² Cf., however, Kaluza, § 15.

is a little obscured to the eye by attempting to make what is really two short lines look like one long line. One could not think of *Marmion*, for example, as a series of long lines with leonine rhyme. Or consider the effect of

On the Isle of Penikese, ringed about by sapphire seas,
Fanned by breezes salt and cool, stood the Master with his school.

Moreover, if one wished to consider the "long line" as a metrical unit one would soon discover that the line often has no determinable movement or rhythm of its own. Smoothness like

lað leodhata, land dryrmyde [*Exodus* 40],

is exceptional, and must be contrasted with more common juxtapositions of rising and falling rhythms, as in

onlangne lust leofes siðes [*ibid.* 53].

The tendency of the second member of a couplet to be more "regular" than the first member, even if it were as strong as is sometimes supposed, would only indicate a feeling for the couplet unit (such as is noticeable in the eighteenth-century treatment of the five-stress line). But Anglo-Saxon verse is so frequently run on, whether one considers "half-lines" or "long lines," that the point becomes a minor one. Finally, if it should seem to some that to speak of a couplet unit instead of a long-line unit is a distinction of terminology merely, there is a clear prosodic reason for regarding the half-line as the real line.

Land 7 leodweard laðra manna

is apparently as much a single unit as Milton's

Whilst the landskip round it measures;

but this is not the usual or normal Anglo-Saxon line. One can even assimilate or co-ordinate to the long-line unit such examples as

manna æfter maðmum, 7 he swa miceles geðah
ealles þæs forgeton siððan grame wurdon.

—*Ibid.* 143 f.

But what shall one do with lines like *Exodus* 131 or *Beowulf* 1339?

modige meteþegnas, hyra mægen beton;

mihtig manscaða. wolde hyre mæg wrecan.

One would have for the second measure, respectively, five syllables and six syllables (including secondary stresses), running to the same rhythmic movement as measures of three, two, or one syllable; and to

reduce them to anything like equivalence with the measures that precede and follow would require an enormous and quite impossible amount of co-ordination. Whereas to recognize the second half of these "long lines" as an independent line with anacrusis (or whatever term one prefers) removes the difficulty. For in the whole rhythmic flow of a passage the extra syllables must be accommodated to the general movement, however the lines may be divided; and this we are the more readily able to do when we allow for the metrical pause at the end of a line. Examples of this kind of readjustment could easily be gathered from good modern blank verse and still more from lyric poems; e.g.:

Imbued, bring to their sweetness no satietie.

To whom thus Raphael. . . .

—*Paradise Lost*, VIII, 215 f.

For the faint east quickens, the wan west shivers,

Round the feet of the day and the feet of the night.

—*Atalanta in Calydon*

This question is not, however, one of the first importance. But it is a proper preliminary, and I shall henceforth speak of the "half-line" as the line, using the conventional numeration, 208a, 208b, to distinguish the members of a couplet.

III

That the couplet is made up of two lines each carrying two beats, reinforced by alliteration; and that the alliterating syllable occurs regularly in the first main beat of the second line and in one or the other beat (or both) of the first line (occasionally also in the second beat of the second line, and as a flourish or by accident in metrically unstressed syllables)—this is now recognized by everyone.¹

Since then each line is composed of two beats, it is plain that the simplest line would be just this, as in *Exodus* 118a: *har hæp*.² But

¹ For further details on alliteration, cf. Kaluza, §§ 91 ff.

² This is interesting as probably a unique example of a two-syllable line. I see nothing wrong with it rhythmically, and it offers no difficulty in translation. The context reads (omitting *o ferclamme*, which is a separate problem, and emending *getwaef* to the subjunctive *getwaefe*): "A new night-guard was needed to stand over the troops, lest terror-of-the-waste, the hoary heath [i.e., the white desert] should with oceanlike storms destroy their lives." The apposition or paratactic juxtaposition of abstract and concrete is easy enough. "Storm" is not quite what one expects, but perhaps it goes with *o ferclamme*, "a sudden fear as from oceanlike storms." Metrically the line is quite analogous to the much-cited "Break, break, break," as a three-stress line. Professor Gordon (in his com-

this will be of rare occurrence and will have for the music of the line only the advantage of its unusualness. The same applies to lines of three syllables. There is no reason why they should not occur: I happen to have noted only one instance—*ymb antwig* (*ibid.* 145b)—which is not very certain, and can easily be emended away. But on the basis of two beats to the line all the known variations are built by the addition of light or unstressed or half-stressed syllables. These variations are very numerous, and it would be idle to tabulate them all.

The commonest forms are . . . , . . . , and . . . , each with varying number of light syllables.¹ For some reason Sievers opined that . . . and . . . could not occur; but the former is a simple variant of his E type with reduced secondary accent, as in *faestene worn* (*Exodus* 56b) or *faraones cyn* (*ibid.* 14b), *wæcendne wer* (*Beowulf* 1268a), *sorhfulne sið* (*ibid.* 1278a), and many more examples. The latter appears in *7 him hold frea* (*Exodus* 19b), *þe he þ dæg weorc* (*ibid.* 151a), and in *him þæs Liffrea* (*Beowulf* 16b). Professor Gordon added these two and also . . . to Greg's "abstract possibilities," with a qualifying note.² This last occurs in *folc ferende* (*Exodus* 45a), *guð hwearfode* (*ibid.* 158b), *landbuendum* (*Beowulf* 95b), etc., which Sievers would read as D type.

These last examples have introduced a "complicating moment" of some difficulty. Sievers used the phrase *ungleichfüssige typen* ("types with unequal feet"), which taken literally would represent a rhythmic impossibility. So that we must examine more closely what he means by unequal, or rather (since unequal feet seem to have presented no problem to him) what is meant by unequal. The answer turns, of course, on the use of secondary stress.

The Anglo-Saxon language was rich in compounds whose parts were to a greater or less degree subordinated, ranging from such as *guðrinc*,

ment on Greg's article, cited above) insists that, in addition to Greg's statement of basic principles, "There is still another principle, however: no Old English half-line contains less than four syllables." But this is only tantamount to saying that no blank-verse line contains less than ten syllables. Exceptions do occur: *quis dat legem versificatoribus?*

¹ For symbols I use the acute accent for full stress, the grave accent for half or medium stress, the breve for light or no stress—approximations only. A macron under the accent indicates the alliteration.

² "In practice, however, successive weak syllables form only a single arsis. In order to distinguish between successive arses, they had to be given a different accent, i.e., one is made a secondary accent." Hence the D and E types of Sievers. This is not only coming at it backward, but implies the needless assumption that monosyllabic feet are impossible.

hringnet, to such as *hlaforð*, *inwit*. The same phenomenon exists in modern English: *mantrap*, *hothouse*, and *boardwalk*, *football*. The same thing appears also in proper names, *Hroðgar*, *Whitehead*. But the degree to which "the second element has ceased to be felt as a distinct part of the compound, and is little more than a suffix" (Schipper), varies at different times and with different individuals. *Whitehead* becomes *Whitted* and *housewife* becomes in pronunciation *hussif*. Precisely how any one compound was felt by an Anglo-Saxon poet or reader we do not know; but from philological considerations alone we may reasonably infer that the situation was not greatly different in the eighth and ninth centuries from what it is in the nineteenth and twentieth.

When such words are introduced into verse, however, they all have to be treated alike; one of the parts of the compound is made distinctly subordinate and occupies the unstressed position in the measure. Only a few modern examples are necessary.

As since, she will vouchsafe no other wit
In his well-turned and true-filed lines.

—B. JONSON, *To . . . Shakespeare*

Of Heav'ns high-seated top, th' Impereal Throne
Of Godhead, fixt for ever firm and sure . . .
Witness this new-made World, another Heav'n.

Paradise Lost, VII, 585-86, 617

The Pulleys unto headlong man; times bower . . .
A Gleam of Glory after six-dayes-showres! . . .
The Church's love-feasts; Time's Prerogative . . .
Of a full feast; and the out-courts of glory!

—VAUGHAN, *Son-Dayes*

Entangled in the whirlwind, and his eyes . . .
The floating bark of the light-laden moon . . .
Their wavering limbs borne on the wind-like stream . . .
With garlands pied and starry sea-flower hair.

—*Prometheus Unbound*, III, ii

They studied at the selfsame schools . . .
When famished love long-linging lies . . .
Meantime his schoolmate had gone out.

—HARDY, *The Two Men*

The case is much the same metrically in uncompounded juxtaposed monosyllables; for example:

Good friend, forbear! you deal in dangerous things.
I'd never name queens, ministers, or kings.

—POPE, *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*

Like the bright hair uplifted from the head
Of some fierce Maenad, even from the dim verge
Of the horizon to the zenith's height.

—SHELLEY, *Ode to the West Wind*

All thinking things, all objects of all thought.

—WORDSWORTH, *Lines . . . above Tintern Abbey*

Dost thou look back on what hath been.

—TENNYSON, *In Memoriam*

For the faint east quickens, the wan west shivers.

—SWINBURNE, *Atalanta in Calydon*

In these as in countless other instances the great variation between the normal prose or rhetorical rhythm and the metrical pattern is obvious, yet we feel no need of inventing *ungleichfüssige typen* to account for the meter. So in Anglo-Saxon verse, what may be called a secondary stress is subordinated to a position of metrical unstress—as in *fyrenðearfe ongeat* (*Beowulf* 14b), ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ being but a metrical variant of ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘; or *heresped gyfen* (*ibid.* 64b), ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ being but a metrical variant of ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘. Examples in phrasal compounds are *sunu deoð wreca* (*ibid.* 1278b), ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ (or ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘) as a metrical variant of ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ (or ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘); and *dreorig daropa laf* (*Bryhtnoð* 54a) as a metrical variant of ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘.

This is one aspect of secondary stress in verse: the depression of a syllable (either in a word or in a phrase) which normally would receive marked emphasis, to serve as a metrically unstressed element. Of course no one would contend that the rhythmic effect of ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ is the same as that of ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ or ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ the same as ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ in the foregoing examples; any more than one would contend that the rhythmic effect of "For the faint east quickens" is the same as that of "For it faintly quickens." But in each case the metrical pattern is the same. And our

prime concern here is with the metrical pattern. To refute the accentual system of scansion Professor William Thomson used the line

A wayworn mother with strangely withered face.

The metrical pattern of this line is clearly one of alternating stress and unstress: *u u u u u u u*;¹ but Thomson pointed out that *wayworn*, *strangely*, and *withered* are by no means alike rhythmically. Which is very true, though it does not impugn the metrical pattern. Professor Thomson's whole volume,² important and valuable as it unquestionably is, is a monumental proof of the fact that we have not yet begun to devise any system of notation which will accurately and clearly register the infinite and infinitely shifting subtleties of the rhythm of language.

The other aspect of secondary stress is simple enough: the use of a potential emphasis (either rhetorical in sentence or phrase, or conventional in polysyllabic words) for a full metrical stress:

And leaves the world to darkness *and* to me.
Over his keys the musing organist.

In Anglo-Saxon verse: *þonne on westenne* (*Exodus* 8a), *u u u u u* (or perhaps *u u u u u*) for *u u u u u*; *ealdwerige* (*ibid.* 50a), *u u u u* for *u u u u*; *hildeſtrengo* (*Beowulf* 2113a), *u u u u* for *u u u u*; *næs mid Geatum ða* (*ibid.* 2192b), *u u u u* for *u u u u*. A more puzzling line is *forþan he to lange* (*ibid.* 1336a), which I should read *u u u u u*, letting *he* and *to* divide the metrical stress between them. An extreme example is *to befeonne* (*ibid.* 1003a), which is probably to be read *u u u u*, but possibly to *beſeoſhonne* *u u u u*; cf. *to gefremmane* (*ibid.* 174b), *ymb hine wægon* (*Exodus* 180a), *gewyrðode* (*ibid.* 10a), and many similar lines. *Gegrunderne* (*Maldon* 109a) I should call simply bad meter.

We are too ignorant of the sound of spoken Anglo-Saxon and *a fortiori* of the sound of the verse to be dogmatic about the gradations of stress or accent in the language. But there must have been a considerable variability at any period. Certainly the poets recognized the dual uses of the secondary accent and, like their descendants, were

¹ It ought not to be necessary to repeat that this metrical scheme, which appears to recognize stress alone, is also musical and recognizes time values as well. It ought not to be necessary to repeat that no language rhythm is possible without a recognition of time values. But many metrists still can think of nothing but stress when they see an accent mark and of nothing but time when they see a musical symbol.

² *The Rhythm of Speech* (Glasgow, 1923).

doubtless willing sometimes to force a point. How shall we scan, or even divide, *Genesis* 2123?

godes bisceope
þa spræc guðcýning.

Probably ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ and ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘, depressing *spræc* (note the alliteration) and raising *-cyn-* to a full stress—the latter being not a very good line perhaps.¹ But there is little doubt about the first line. Yet in *Andreas* 607

þær bisceopas
and boceras

we should probably scan ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ and ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘, raising the second syllable of *bisceopas* and *boceras* (the latter a short one even) from a naturally slight stress to metrically full stress.² Here in fact may be seen the full measure, the whole philosophy, of secondary accent. It seems reasonable that we should rely on secondary accent when it is needed to satisfy the rhythm—a license or concession in adjusting the words to the meter—just as we do in modern verse, and neglect it as a metrical fact—though not of course as a rhythmical factor—when it is not wanted. Thus the poet freely varies his line by strengthening the weak and weakening the strong syllables. But it is not logical to raise a possible secondary stress to a bad metrical eminence, as Sievers does in reading *sorhfulne sið*, ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘, as ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘; *aldres orwena*, ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘, as ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘. Even when the secondary stress is unmistakable, as in *grette Geata leod*, ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘, we are to find not a new “unequal” foot, but a simple variation of a trochaic movement.

From this freedom another readily develops. From lines like *gehnægde helle-gast* (*Beowulf* 1276a), ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘, and *þonne ænig man oðer* (*ibid.* 1353b), ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘, it is a short step to lines like *ðin ofer þeoda gehwylce* (*ibid.* 1705a), ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘, and *Eal þu hit gepyldum healdest* (*ibid.* 1705b), ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘; that is, from lines which are ambiguously two stress or three stress to those which are definitely three stress, that is, the so-called expanded line. Such lines are not frequent in the restrained narrative of the *Beowulf*, but in a lyrical poem like *The Dream of the Rood* (a metrical study in itself) they constitute

¹ Cf. p. 153, n. 3, below.

² The examples are from Schipper, *History*, p. 29. Schipper's formulation of rules for secondary accent is open to some question, however.

nearly a fifth of the whole number, some of them running to eleven syllables with four stresses.¹

On a rough count the average number of syllables in the average line is a little over five. One of these is always a main stress; another is usually a main stress, but may be a secondary used as a main stress; at least one of the other three may be a secondary stress.² It is apparent, therefore, that the number of possible variations is very large, and is greatly increased for the lines of unusual length.

Two sorts of variety are thus available to the poet. The number of light syllables may be anywhere from one (or none) to four or five. At the same time, as the number of light syllables increases an inevitable under-rhythm will appear and the potential secondary accents will assert themselves. Besides this, the rhetorically weak stresses may be emphasized and the strong stresses reduced to fit the metrical scheme, with resultant rhythmic shadings of almost infinite number and gradation.

To attempt to catalogue or classify these is therefore futile. Certain combinations occur with comparative frequency; others are rare,³ just as in modern verse. Certain kinds of line are more common than others in Milton's or in Tennyson's or in Swinburne's blank verse. The same is true of the short couplet, which offers in some ways a closer analogy, though it is much less flexible than the Anglo-Saxon couplet. It is here, however, that the statistical observations of Sievers and Kaluza are helpful. All of the former's types and subtypes (*unterarten*), plain and *erweitert* (by "resolution"), from simple A to complex D*4, and the *weitere variationen* which he is obliged to admit, all of Kaluza's ninety, all these are unquestionably present in the verse. Sievers saw also that much must remain doubtful.⁴ His cardinal error, and that of his followers, was to hold that a classification of the rhyth-

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 57 ff., with references to Sievers and Luick. Many expanded lines can be read as normal lines with considerable anacrusis (Kaluza, §§ 86 ff.); but many cannot be so read without wrenching. I am inclined to believe that from the point of view of historical development the so-called expanded line represents the original form (i.e., a line composed of two dipodies), and that by Anglo-Saxon times the dipody had been reduced to a simple "foot"; so that the expanded line is really a partial survival rather than a new extension of the normal line. But this is a matter for fuller, and later, discussion.

² *Ides aglæcwif* (*Beowulf* 1259a) and *mearchofu morheald* (*Ezodus* 61a), for example, seem to have two (unequal) secondary stresses.

³ Sievers says that . . . does not occur at all; Professor Gordon says that neither this nor . . . occurs. Cf. *þa spræc gudcýning* instanced above.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, § 17.

mic forms, however complete, was desirable or could be substituted for an explanation of the metrical pattern; the chief corollary error was to confuse metrical with rhythmical facts. Meter is the formal framework to which words are fitted in the construction of verse. Rhythm is the organized flow of the sounds of words, or more precisely, the ordered interplay of those "values" (time and stress or accent, and pitch or intonation)¹ which characterize the sounds of spoken language. A great deal of confusion has been caused among prosodists and non-prosodists by a neglect of this distinction. Meter is a definite, concrete thing, and in nearly all instances we can say clearly what is the meter of a given poem. Rhythm is as variable and intangible as the emotions which it attempts to render or reflect; it is complicated by all the subtleties and nuances of which both language and emotion are capable. We have only a few imperfect ways of describing it; not even the intricate instruments of the physical laboratory can register it with any completeness or clarity. Nevertheless, as a partial description of some of the rhythmic variations in Anglo-Saxon poetry, the Sievers types, especially the D and E types, may be helpful, provided they are not misunderstood. As an account of Anglo-Saxon meter they are a failure, because they are confusing and misleading; but as a rough aid in talking of the rhythm of Anglo-Saxon verse they are convenient if used with caution. Suggestive also is Greg's term "weighted" for those measures whose movement is retarded by secondary stresses; and we might add "underweighted" for measures in which a subordinate syllable does duty for a full metrical stress.

This whole matter, the relation of rhythm to meter in particular poems or passages, deserves more study than it has ever received, either for Anglo-Saxon or for modern works.² Sievers gave us some valuable, but neglected, hints on the relation of verse and sentence

¹ The interplay of pitch and stress is but little understood, and no doubt a great deal that we commonly think of as stress is really pitch. In the formal study of poetry the importance of intonation should be more carefully considered than it is, for it is that quality of language which is most subtly responsive to the emotional content and effect of a passage. But we weakly avoid it because of the difficulties of even talking about it and of the pitfalls of subjective impressions.

² For example, by a rough, very incomplete estimate, in *Beowulf* more than 20 per cent of the lines seem to be weighted (over 60 per cent of these being the first member of a couplet) as against nearly 35 per cent weighted in *Exodus* (nearly 70 per cent being the first member of a couplet). Fuller and more accurate computations for different poems might yield interesting, if only tentative, conclusions. But they would be a-metrical. Cf. also Kaluza, §§ 30 ff., § 35 Anm., the table in § 63, and §§ 81 ff. with tables.

structure. The curiously involved and at the same time loose arrangement of phrases and clauses in Anglo-Saxon poetry is balanced by the insistently regular beat of the rhythm. If modern verse may be said to follow the faint click of a metronome, Anglo-Saxon verse runs to the loud beat of a drum. It has a kind of savage pounding as of tom-toms.

IV

In conclusion, then, the simple fact remains that the only metrical pattern in Anglo-Saxon verse is the two stresses to the line, with light syllables variously placed. The normal run of the rhythm is probably trochaic, and the variations are so managed that an even alternation of stress and unstress recurs frequently enough to remind us of the fundamental pattern. It is the same with modern verse, save that we expect a greater regularity.

In Anglo-Saxon poetry there was probably a fuller recognition of phrasal stress than in modern poetry, and we are obliged to turn to prose for an illustrative parallel. In the following example consider how both the stresses in the seven-syllable parenthetic clause "as . . . happens" are subordinated to the sentence stresses, and how this clause is reduced in time as well as stress: "But *to-day*, as it frequently happens, *no* man is. . . ." In some such fashion can Anglo-Saxon verse assimilate a larger number of light syllables into the metrical pattern than modern verse can. With our inherited tradition of syllable-counting, or of some analogous tendency, we seem to expect a very simple alternation of stress and unstress. "Trisyllabic feet" have regularly been regarded by the prosodists with a kind of suspicion and treated as something exceptional—and are they not abetted by the poets, who have made them exceptional? Our ears are trained to expect a simple uniformity as regards numerical variation in syllables, and we are satisfied by the variety resulting from differences of stress and pitch. In this respect English verse from Milton to Tennyson would seem to have been dominated more by time than by stress, the unity of the rhythm coming almost from time alone. Three-stress and four-stress lines abound in blank verse, while the number of syllables and the time of uttering them remain fairly constant. But the Anglo-Saxon poet had the advantage not only of stress and pitch variations, but also of a very considerable liberty in the number of

syllables.¹ The two qualities most prominent in Anglo-Saxon verse are its freedom or elasticity and its heavy pounding. The two are of course complementary. Without the steady recurrent emphases the freedom would pass into license and the pattern be altogether lost. The analogy of much contemporary and much primitive music occurs to us at once: a steady beating of the fundamental rhythm accompanied by a very free syncopation of the melodic line.

All verse is to be explained first by reference to the metrical scheme or rhythmic base. When we have found this there come the complex relationships of the natural rhythms of language to this pattern; these consist mainly in the co-ordination of longer and shorter intervals of time and in the subordination or strengthening of syllables which in prose speech have a less or greater degree of stress. Since no system of notation has been invented capable of doing more than indicating the pattern and a few simple variations, all efforts to go farther become entangled in their own toils and succeed in obscuring more than they clarify. It is for this reason that one prefers simplicity to subtlety.

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¹ The analogy of recitative and the chant in music is suggestive but imperfect, since recitative and the chant are really temporary suspensions of the regular musical rhythm.

ÆRGŌD IN BEOWULF, AND OTHER OLD ENGLISH COMPOUNDS OF ÆR

THE compound adjective *ærgōd*, which apparently occurs only in *Beowulf*, is used five times in this poem—twice in characterizing a sword and three times a person. *Ær*- in this compound is generally considered by editors of *Beowulf* to have chiefly if not purely intensive force.¹ Uncompounded *ær*, however, in *Beowulf*, has a purely temporal force—'earlier,' 'previously,' 'formerly,' 'before in point of time.'² In all compounds, too, except *ærgōd*, *ær*- clearly preserves this force in *Beowulf*—*ær-dæg*, *ær-fader*, *ær-gestrēon*, *ær-geweorc*, *ær-wela*—and in no instance does it have even derivatively a clear intensive value. In the face of these facts it is difficult to justify in this one compound, occurring only in this one poem, the usually accepted force of *ær*- as intensifying the meaning of *gōd*. 'Very good,' 'vorzüglich,' 'sehr tüchtig,' etc., seem to be *ad hoc* renderings because *ærgōd* in every instance is applied in what appears to be a complimentary sense.

But in all its occurrences *ærgōd* may be so rendered as to retain the normal value of *ær*-, and this rendering is, I think, more precisely accurate than is the meaning usually assigned. In every instance *ærgōd* is applied to a person who is long past his period of vigor or is even dead, or to a sword that cannot perform its previously accustomed service. Though it is used as a complimentary epithet, the excellence implied is with regretful reference to a former time, not to the actual moment.

¹ *Ærgōd* is thus defined: Schücking-Heyne—"von alters tüchtig," 'altberühmt,' 'vorzüglich' (as applied to the sword); Holthausen—"sehr tüchtig," 'vorzüglich'; Chambers-Wyatt—"good before others," 'very good'; Klaeber—"good from old times," 'very good.' The dictionaries, too, with the exception of Sweet's, give very similar meanings: Grein's *Sprachschatz*—"præ ceteris bonus?"; Bosworth-Toller's *Supplement*—"good from of old?" 'very good'; Clark-Hall—"good from old times?" 'very good.' Sweet alone, so far as I know, sees only temporal force in *ær*- and defines the compound, clearly with some hesitation, as 'good of old?'

² Apparently the notion of transition in meaning from 'earlier,' 'formerly,' 'in old times,' 'of old' to merely complimentary intensification traces back in the main to Bugge: "Ligesom skatte, som hidrøre fra gamle dage, som forlængst er samlede, kaldes *ærgestrēon*, *ærwela*, således kan det, hvis godhed forlængst er prøvet, det som er godt gammelt, kaldes *ærgōd*" (see under *ærgōd* in Bugge's "Sprede lagttagelser vedkommende de oldengelske digte om Beowulf og Waldhere," *Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik*, VIII [1868-69], 66-67).

Ærgōd is first used (l. 130) to characterize the aged Hroþgar, once the great and successful warrior-king, now helpless in distress over the ravages of Grendel. Its next application to persons (l. 1329) is by Hroþgar to his councilor, *Æschere*, after Grendel's mother had slain this old friend and comrade.¹ It is also used once of Beowulf (l. 2342)—not at any time during his youthful strength, but in his old age, with his glorious exploits behind him, just before his fatal encounter with the dragon, when for the first time in his life his own unaided strength was insufficient to win the victory:

Sceolde lændaga
 æþeling ærgōd ende gebīdan
 worulde lifes.

The first instance of the application of *ærgōd* to a sword (l. 989) occurs in the passage in which the *æþelings*, staring in amazement at Grendel's arm and hand which Beowulf had torn from the monster, declared that no sword—no matter how it might have approved itself previously—could cut that steel-like claw:

Æghwylc gecwaeð
 þæt him heardra nān hrīnan wolde
 īren ærgōd þæt ðæs āhlæcan
 blōdge beadulfolme onberan wolde.

In the second instance (l. 2586) the sword that failed Beowulf in his desperate need during his encounter with the dragon is characterized as *ærgōd*:

Gūðbill geswāc
 nacod æt nīðe, swā hyt nō sceolde,
 īren ærgod.

The fact is that *ærgōd* is not once applied to object or person at a moment when the situation demands an epithet expressing intensified actual vigor or strength or excellence, and that in at least two instances (ll. 130, 2586) such a sense is altogether incongruous with the situation. On the other hand, when the normal meaning of *ær-* is incorporated into the compound, the epithet does fit the situation in every instance. The meaning is thus not 'good from of old,' 'very good,' but rather 'good of old,' 'formerly good,' 'good hitherto.' Such

¹ *Æþeling* in this line as the noun qualified by *ærgōd* is a conjectural addition to supply an obvious omission of some word in the MS. But whatever the missing word may have been in the original text, *ærgōd* is unquestionably applied to the dead *Æschere*.

a rendering, which emphasizes previous strength or excellence, is wholly suitable to Hroþgar, now an old warrior checked by age, lamenting his youth and his battle-strength (ll. 2111-13), but once the mighty fighter and the builder of Heorot; to Æschere, now dead, but earlier Hroþgar's chief comrade-in-arms; and to the aged Beowulf, whose glorious career, including a reign of fifty years, was on the point of being ended by the dragon. It is equally suitable also to the blade which, however much it had been proved hitherto, would yet be incapable of cutting off the hand of the monstrous Grendel, and to the sword of Beowulf—*gomele lāfe, ecgum anglāw* (ll. 2563-64)—which failed its owner in his last desperate need.

For the sake of completeness all the recorded Old English forms in which *ær-* has been assumed to have merely intensive force should be examined. Other than *ærgōd* in *Beowulf* the only such *ær-* compounds recorded in the Bosworth-Toller *Dictionary* and in Grein's *Sprachschatz* are *ærglade* in *Exodus*, line 293, and *ærlēof* entered from the glosses to Ælfric Bata's version of Ælfric's *Colloquium* as edited by Napier.¹ The second edition of Clark-Hall's *Dictionary* (1916) adds *ærēat* to these by defining it as 'excessive (or too early?) eating,' but this definition is based on a failure to take into account the fact that the medieval notion of gluttony as a sin included untimely as well as excessive eating. The definition in the Bosworth-Toller *Supplement* as 'eating too soon' is clearly correct, and *ærēat* need not be considered further.

Ærglade in *Exodus* occurs in Moses' address to the people of Israel after the waters of the Red Sea had been formed into walls on the two sides of the road through the sea over which the Israelites were to pass in safety. The essential part of the speech is in lines 291-96:

	Ic wat soð gere
þ eow mihtig god	miltse gecyðde
eorlas ærglade.	ofest is selost
þ ge of feonda	fæðme weorðen,
nu se agend	úp arærde
reade streamas	in randgebeorh. ²

¹ The glosses to this version of the *Colloquium* are given in Collection No. 56 of Napier's *Old English Glosses* ("Anecdota Oxoniensia—Mediaeval and Modern Series," Part XI, Oxford, 1900).

² I quote from Blackburn's edition of *Exodus and Daniel* (Boston, 1907), which undertakes to reproduce the text more precisely than does the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek*. On the matter under discussion there are, however, no significant differences between the two.

For a considerable time the lexicographers of Old English agreed fairly well in construing *ærglade* as an adjective modifying *eorlas* and meaning 'bronze-bright,' 'armed,' 'armis aeneis coruscans,' but more recently *ærglade* has been construed with *mittse* and given the meaning 'very kind,' 'exceeding kind'; that is, *ær-* is taken as merely an intensive prefix.¹ Apparently the suggestion for change in construction and meaning goes back to Cosijn who considered *ærglade* and a number of other difficult Old English words: "Ist hier *ærglade* (adv?) auf *mittse* zu beziehen, so fragt es sich, ob in diesem *ær* nicht ein altes verstärkendes praefix stecken kann: vgl. das wunderliche *æræt* Anglia 11, 102. 88. 12, 514. 10. Wulfstan 135, 2. 290, 32 = *oferæt*; eine beiform *ær* zu *or*-? vgl. das tonlose *ā* aus *az*."² In this note Cosijn calls attention also to Bugge's interpretation of *ærgōd*,³ but if I am correct in my interpretation of *ær-* in *ærgōd* this citation does not support *ær-* as an intensive prefix. And as I have shown above (p. 159), *ær-* in *æræt* is a temporal, not an intensive element. These assumed parallels accordingly have no weight in fixing the value of *ærglade*. Moreover, when examined independently in its own context, *ærglade*, it seems to me, can be rendered more fittingly if *ær-* is given its normal temporal force than if it is considered merely an intensive prefix. *Ær-* with the value of 'former,' 'of old,' 'ancient,' brings with it the recollection of God's earlier favors to his chosen people. If *ærglade* is to be construed with *mittse* it should accordingly be rendered not as 'exceeding kind,' 'very kind,' but 'anciently kind,' 'formerly kind.'

To base any conclusions whatever upon the form recorded by Napier as *ærlēof* is excessively hazardous. The Latin text according to Napier (p. 228 n.) runs "Euge, kare, gratus es nobis admodum." *Gratus* is glossed :*rl:ofcūm*, *gecwem*, and Napier renders :*rl:ofcūm* as 'ærlēof (very dear) cuma (or-men)'. In his notes to this collection of glosses (p. 222) he states that "the vowels are not unfrequently denoted by dots, · = *a* (81, etc.); : = *e* (78, etc.), rarely *æ* (227, 231, 255); ·· = *i* (225, etc.); :: = *o* (171, 301), sometimes *u* (224, 229); ::· = *u*

¹ The meaning formerly held is recorded in Blackburn's glossary, in the Bosworth-Toller Dictionary, in Sweet, and in the Sprachschatz². The second meaning is entered in the Bosworth-Toller Supplement and in the Clark-Hall Dictionary, and is suggested in Holt-Hausen's "Berichtigungen und Nachträge" to the Sprachschatz², where under *ærglād* the statement is made: "*ær* ist wohl Adv. wie in *ær-god*."

² "Anglosaxonica II," P. Br. Beil., XX (1895), 101.

³ See p. 157, n. 2, above.

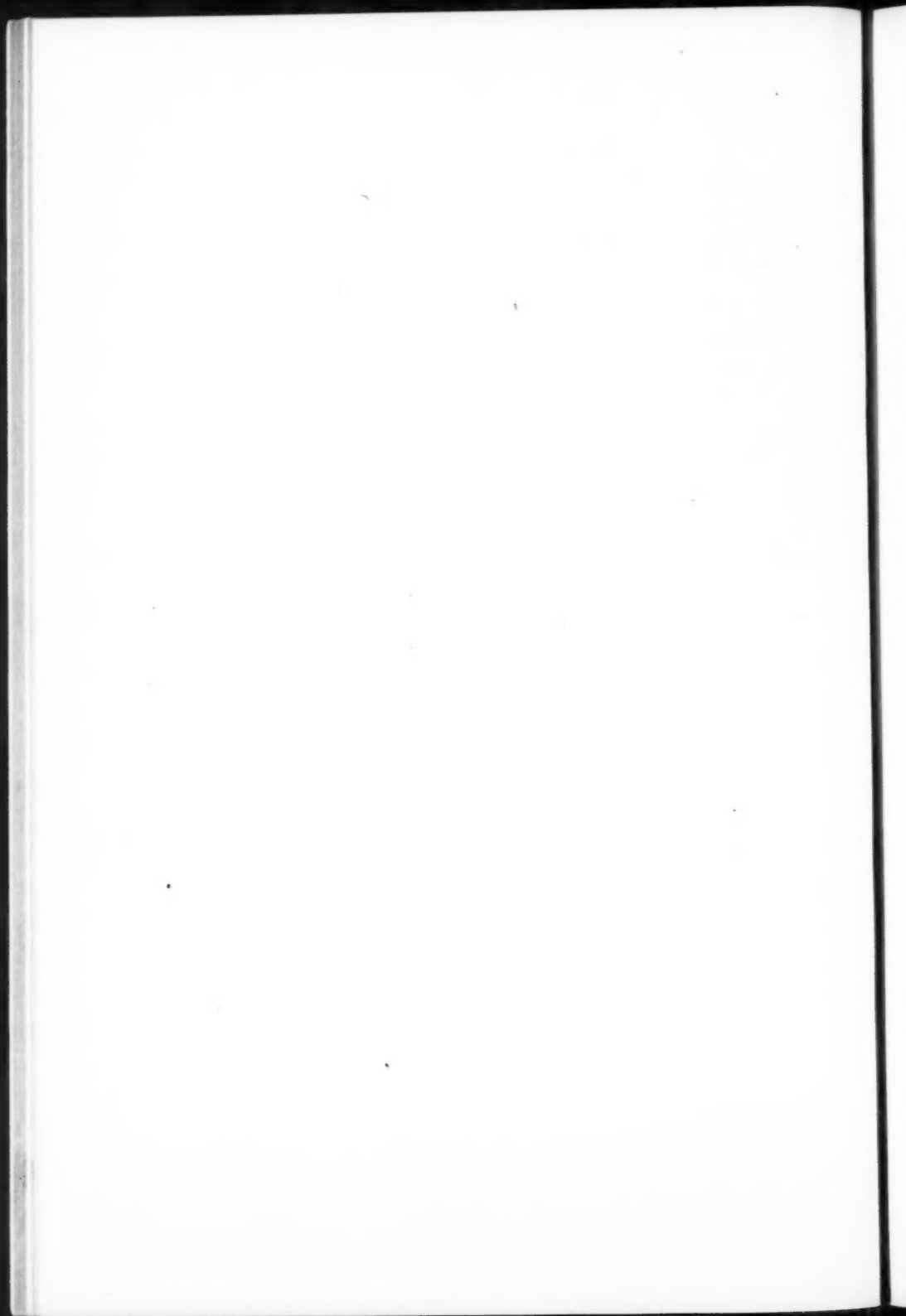
(295, 299). In 172 the :· stands for the :(e) and ·(a) combined." It is obvious that such a system of representing vowels is highly conducive to mistakes, and that any single word represented in this fashion is open to suspicion—in :rl:of the same symbol (:·) Napier renders first as *æ* and again as *e*. Further, the glosses do not undertake to give precise equivalents. If *ærlēof* is the correct reading, the adjective *gratus* is rendered not by a simple adjective but by *ærlēof cuma* or *ærlēof cumen*. In the immediately preceding gloss, *kare* is rendered *þ:·*, i.e., the second person pronoun *þū*. The value of any conclusions based on this presumed *ærlēof* is still further weakened by the facts stated by Napier (p. xxii): "That these glosses are not original but are copies from some other MS. is shown by mistakes, such as No. 57, *þi* for *wi*; *souertia* for *sollertia* on fol. 200b." In view of all these circumstances, a form so open to suspicion as is :rl:of recorded in these glosses can hardly be considered to bring evidence in support of *ær-* as an intensive prefix.¹

If this :rl:of must thus obviously be left out of account in attempting to fix the value of *ær-* in compounds, it appears that not merely in *Beowulf* but in the whole body of Old English poetry and prose *ær-* did not evolve into a simple intensive prefix but clearly preserved its temporal signification.

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¹ Napier, of course, did not offer this form as evidence for *ær-* as an intensive; obviously in the effort to find a serviceable rendering for :rl:of he was driven to accept for *ær-* a meaning that had already been assigned to it.



TOM BROWN AND PARTRIDGE THE ASTROLOGER

IN EVERY account of the paper duel between Bickerstaff and Partridge some statement is made to the general effect that Swift's joke was caught up by the other Wits. By this is meant, first, that Steele and Addison continued the hoax in the *Tatler*, using the name and character of Bickerstaff, and referring to Partridge and his belated burial many times; and, second, that there are scattered allusions to the Bickerstaff-Partridge affair in poems, satires, and letters of various contemporaries, including Prior and Pope.¹ There opinion rests at present. Once only has Tom Brown been mentioned as a persecutor of Partridge, and then it is brief mention in an article concerned with his influence on the periodical essay.²

Such an estimate is inaccurate as well as incomplete. Investigation shows that Brown was the earliest as well as the most persistent of Partridge's tormentors, and that his mock predictions, published in 1700, anticipated almost every point in Bickerstaff's later attack, except Swift's inimitable gravity and pseudo-seriousness. In the light of Swift's tribute to Brown³ the point might well be stressed that Brown's predictions, rather than the activities of Partridge himself, were the principal inspiration for the rôle of Bickerstaff. But this has been suggested once,⁴ and is not our immediate concern. Rather would we describe the character of Brown's parody of the astrologer to prove how important was his share in the attack upon Partridge, whose extinction has been credited too easily to Swift and Steele.

As early as 1685 Brown began his slighting allusions to Partridge, the "Protestant astrologer," who in that year suffered exile under

¹ The contributions of Arbuthnot and Congreve have remained unnoticed. A full account of the part played by each will be given in the Introduction and notes to my volume of reprints, now in preparation.

² E. N. S. Thompson, "Tom Brown and the Satirists," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXII (1917), 90.

³ "[I] read Mr. Thomas Brown entire, and had the honour to be his intimate friend, who was universally admitted to be the greatest genius of his age" (Introduction to "Polite Conversation," *Prose Works of Swift* [ed. Temple Scott], XI, 221).

⁴ Thompson, *loc. cit.*

James II. Partridge had been born under a Protestant star, mortally hated and feared the Roman pope, and daily vilified all things Catholic. Brown, at heart an agnostic, was a political papist who went to prison for libeling Titus Oates. It is not surprising, then, to find him electing Partridge as chief of the dunces:

Damn your Gadbury, Partridge, and Salmon together,
What a puling discourse have we here of the weather.¹

Again, in 1694, he wrote:

When prophecies are coin'd by a drunken buffoon,
Whose chief talent lies in abusive lampoon.²

The author's note to these lines explains that the reference is to "Partridge the drunken shoemaker, who turn'd astrologer and was in great vogue among the Whigs." Among four other allusions is one in 1700: "Partridge was no more than a London cobbler before he was made running footman to the seven planets."³ But these were merely hors d'œuvres to the main course. In the summer and autumn of 1700 Brown published weekly a series of mock predictions under the title:

*A Comical View of the Transactions that will happen
in the cities of London and Westminster. . . .* By SYLVESTER
PARTRIGE, Student in Physick and Astrology⁴

Only four broken numbers are included in the first collected edition of Brown's works, 1707, and in later editions. John Nichols tells us, however, that he saw eighteen numbers among the Harleian MSS at the British Museum, all dated 1700.⁵ As the monthly dates and corresponding days of the week prefixed to each prophecy hold good for 1700, the date of original publication is clearly fixed. The original issues in the British Museum bear a slightly different title:

*The Infallible Astrologer: or, Mr. Sylvester Partridge's prophesie . . . of what shall . . . happen in,
and about the cities of London and Westminster
for every day this week.* [London], 1700

¹ *The Works of Mr. Thomas Brown* (9th ed., 1760), IV, 7.

² *Ibid.*, Supplement (1721), V, 2.

³ *Works*, II, 227.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 145-67.

⁵ *Additional Notes*, by Nichols, appended to Vol. V of his edition of the *Tatler* (1786). The *Catalogue* of the British Museum at present lists only three issues. If Nichols saw eighteen, some must have disappeared since, or else may still exist uncatalogued in some of the collectanea.

It may be noted, in passing, that Brown was aiming at two butts with the same shaft in using "Sylvester" instead of "John." John Sylvester, like John Partridge, was an uninspired member of the fraternity of quack astrologers, so obscure that the doubtful honor of Brown's allusion to him has so far passed unnoticed.¹

To realize the range of strategy which Bickerstaff owed to Sylvester Partridge, Brown's predictions must be read entire. A few quotations cannot do much, for the general nature and purpose of the satire are here more important than the details. Like Swift, Brown begins by asserting that he has entered the field of prophecy to redeem the noble art from its abuse by charlatans:

Whereas the town has been banter'd near two months with a sham account of the weather, pretended to be taken from Barometers, Thermometers, Microscopes, Telescopes, and such like heathenish instruments, by which means several of her Majesty's good subjects have put on their frize-coats, expecting it should rain, when it has been fair; and wore their best cloaths, thinking it should be fair, when it has rain'd . . . and likewise whereas the planets that have regulated the almanacks for about two thousand years, have been most wickedly slandered by a late author, as if they had no influence at all upon the weather; the publisher of this paper has been persuaded by his friends, to print these his infallible predictions. . . .²

Like Swift, Brown claims foreknowledge of foreign levy as well as treason domestic, though unlike his successor he specializes in the latter. Local events concern him more than "the fate of Louis and the fall of Rome":

I am glad that my last week's predictions were so lucky as to please you, and for that reason am encouraged to proceed. Did the town require it of me, I could much enlarge my predictions, and foretell what would happen in foreign countries, as well as what will fall out in London; as, for instance, I could tell you that the Czar of Muscovy is going to make hemp dear in the North, that the King of Spain is like to raise the price of iron in the South; that bullets fly thick as hail in Livonia, and bribes in the conclave; that his

¹ Information about John Sylvester is scarce. Even Granger, who records a score of astrologers in his *Biographical History*, passes him by. The one accessible notice, with an extended extract from one of his almanacs, is given by Walter Scott in a note to *Dryden's Works* (1821), X, 421-22.

² Brown, *Works*, I, 145. Cf. Bickerstaff's first "Predictions for 1708" and *Tatler*, No. 228. The allusion to "her Majesty's good subjects" will seem to contradict the date for which I have argued above, 1700. But the external evidence is beyond question. No doubt the reference to royalty was emended to read as here when Brown's writings were assembled and published in 1707. The prayer-book of the Anglican church does no less.

Polish majesty is as sick of Riga, as the Scots were of Darien; with other matters of the like importance, which I shall omit at present, and come to things that concern us nearer. . . .¹

Swift attacks primarily the astrologer in Partridge; Brown, followed later by Addison and Steele, gives more attention to the "Student of Physick":

I have been often griev'd to see the noble art of Physick so run down, despised and invaded as it has been of late; but to say the truth, the professors may thank themselves for it; they are eternally jangling and quarreling at the college, and persecuting one another, while they ought to lay their heads together and unite to baffle those undermining enemies of mankind, call'd diseases. . . .²

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE LADIES

The best time to cut hair. How moles and dreams to be interpreted. When most proper to bleed. Under what aspect of the moon best to draw teeth, and cut corns. Paring of nails, on what days unlucky. What the kindest sign to graft or inoculate in; to open bee-hives and kill swine. How to get twins; and how many hours boiling my lady Kent's pudding requires: With other notable questions, fully and faithfully resolved by me SYLVESTER PARTRIDGE, student in Physick and Astrology, near the Gun in Morefields.

Of whom likewise may be had, at reasonable rates, trusses, antidotes, elixirs, love-powders, washes for freckles, plumpers, glass-eyes, false calves and noses, ivory jaws, stiptic drops to contract the parts; a new recipe to turn red hair to black. . . .³

Prophecy, rather than medicine, is however our chief concern. Swift and Brown both adroitly confess to slight errors of time and place in their predictions, thereby implying their own honesty and general credibility:

. . . . But before I preceed to them, I have a word or two to say for myself; some persons that are in the Barometer interest have found fault with my last paper, because I foretold turning up of tails at Paul's and Merchant-Taylor's last Friday, whereas nothing of that happen'd; to which, I answer, that if a certain Apostle had not interposed to give the boys a holiday, my prediction had been true. . . .⁴

It has been industriously given out by some gentlemen, who have no faith in the planets, that I trussed up the Newgate prisoners a fortnight be-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-48.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 156-57. Cf. the identical complaint, including verbal parallels, by Bickerstaff (i.e., Addison) in *Tatler*, No. 240.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 150. See, as well, II, 140, in connection with *Tatler*, No. 240.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

fore it happen'd: I own that I was out as to the day; but as to what I foretold concerning the ceremonies of the execution . . . I dare engage, that every tittle would have prov'd true, though the government had hang'd those same fellows three hundred years hence. Far be it from me, or any Protestant Astrologer, to set up for infallibility.¹

The reader of Swift's first predictions, 1708, will remember similar and more extended pretense to excuse errors on quite absurd grounds. The point in both is a close parody of Partridge's practice of explaining away his failures, and his alternate claim to, and repudiation of, infallibility.

Brown's daily predictions themselves are comical descriptions of London street life, rather than of international affairs; but for all this difference from Swift (a difference which he shares with the Bickerstaff of the *Tatler*) he anticipates Swift and resembles the real Partridge in his Protestant zeal, in his vagueness and ambiguity, and in his preference for incidents that are sure to occur somewhere to the inevitable credit of the prophet:

TUES., OCT. 22.—Wind whether E.W.N. or S. no matter, but in one corner or other of the compass most certain: If high, the beaux advised to be merciful to their long perukes. Muslins and pepper rise at the East India house at twelve. Callicoes fall before two. Coach'd masques calling at the chocolate-houses between eight and nine. Bastards begot, and cuckolds made this week numberless.²

TUES., NOV. 5.—Bells at four in the morning ring the downfall of Antichrist: The whore of Babylon most unmercifully pelted all the day. . . . The Pope's bulls baited in most congregations about eleven. . . . The Pope call'd abundance of hard names, as, man of sin, strumpet, and whatnot. Ditto, made the beast with ten horns, i.e. a worse beast by four pair of horns than any in Cheapside. Ditto, did he live in London, the grand jury of Middlesex and our new reformers, would certainly indict him for keeping a lewd disorderly house. Watches, whores, clocks, widows, physicians and lawyers tell lies every day in the week.³

THURS., NOV. 14.—Little news stirring this morning, unless a review of the foot-guards happens. Mars and Venus seem to foretel it, however, I won't be positive; but if it does, what follows will most certainly fall out. Officers with plume in hat, sashes and gorget, make a magnificent appearance, wish the agent at Old Nick, their outsides wond'rous fine, their pockets lin'd within but so-so. Faggots summon'd in from all parts of Westminster, whores and bailiffs busy to pick up the military sparks so soon as the show is over.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

And so one might quote endlessly; but even with the wittiest of the writers of Grubstreet, enough is as good as a feast. Extract the burlesque, and it is Partridge speaking. Substitute sustained irony, and it becomes Bickerstaff. The story of Tom Brown's influence has not yet been told. This Partridge affair is another proof of what so far has been barely hinted: that the disreputable Tom Brown furnished a deal of matter for the satire of his more conventional contemporaries.

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ROBERT BURNS AND MARIA RIDDELL

BURNS'S biographers have treated timidly and reluctantly the circumstances of his quarrel with Maria Riddell. The accepted account of the act which led to the breach is thus summed up by Henley and Henderson:

.... At a party at Woodley Park, in January 1794, he [Burns] and the men got drunk in the dining-room. The talk ran on the Rape of the Sabines, and they seem to have gone to the drawing-room with the design of giving a friendly imitation of the Romans. This, so far as can be divined, they did: Burns—who was in liquor, and may well have lost his head in other ways—laying rude hands on his hostess. On the morrow he sent her a desperate apology “from the regions of hell.” . . . But the indignant lady disregarded this and other overtures, . . . and he was rewarded for his too-too practical proof of admiration, not only with the loss of Captain Riddell's friendship, but with estrangement also from Maria's intimates. This roused the cad in him, and he perpetrated the ignoble *Esopus to Maria*, and a number of “epigrams” . . . which have neither wit nor decent feeling. . . .¹

Careful examination of the documents in the case reveals, however, that this account errs as to the place, date, and circumstances of the act which provoked the breach, as to the relative parts taken by Maria Riddell and by her brother-in-law, Robert Riddell of Glenriddell, and his wife, and—in consequence of these errors—as to the motivation of Burns's subsequent attacks upon Maria. Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the longest of the lampoons attributed to Burns is spurious. But before analyzing the evidence, some account is needed of the two Riddell families and their relations with Burns.²

I

When Burns settled at Ellisland in 1788 his nearest neighbor was Robert Riddell (1755–94), who had owned the estate of Friars Carse since 1784. Eldest son of Walter Riddell, of Glenriddell, in the parish

¹ *The Centenary Burns* (Edinburgh, 1896–97), II, 420–21.

² For much of the biographical information about the Riddells I am indebted to Mr. Hugh S. Gladstone's excellent article, “Maria Riddell, the Friend of Burns,” in *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* (3d ser., 1914–15), III, 16 ff. See also J. M. Wood, *Robert Burns and the Riddell Family*, Dumfries, 1922.

of Glencairn, on his father's death in 1788 he succeeded to that property and title, though he continued to live at Carse. He was a somewhat overwhelmingly robust man—William Smellie speaks of "his immense fist and stentorian voice"¹—whose convivial habits involved him in that notorious "Whistle" contest with his kinsmen Alexander Fergusson of Craigdarroch and Sir Robert Laurie which Burns's biographers have exploited *ad nauseam*. His hobby was antiquarianism; his accomplishments therein have been taken more seriously than the evidence seems to warrant. He duly adorned his grounds with a "Hermitage" and a "Druid circle"; he also had his set of *The Scots Musical Museum* interleaved so that he might set down all the information he could gather about the songs and their composers. The work, however, was mostly done by Burns, who annotated 152 of the 400 songs while Riddell did 18.² Nevertheless, few country gentlemen about Dumfries had even this amateurish interest in literature, music, and folk lore, and Burns found congenial society at Carse.

In 1784 Riddell married Elizabeth Kennedy, of Manchester (d. 1801), but had no issue. Few facts are available about his wife, but Burns admired her, and christened his only legitimate daughter Elizabeth Riddell. The lady had a temper: on January 3, 1791, Francis Grose the antiquary wrote to Burns that "after the scene between Mrs. Riddell Junr. and your humble servant, to which you was witness, it is impossible I can ever come under her Roof again."³ Mr. Gladstone, the only investigator to use this letter, assumed from the "Junr." that Grose referred to Maria Riddell, but inasmuch as Grose died in May, 1791, and Maria had no roof of her own in Scotland until 1792,⁴ the assumption is impossible. Elizabeth Riddell must have made the scene, and this evidence of her hot temper, together with the record of such an orgy as the "Whistle" contest, prepares us for Burns's misadventure.

¹ Letter to Maria Riddell, in Robert Kerr, *Memoirs of William Smellie* (Edinburgh, 1811), II, 364.

² See J. C. Dick, *Burns's Notes on Scottish Songs*, Oxford, 1908.

³ Gladstone, *op. cit.*, from an extract in *Catalog No. 216* issued by William Brown, bookseller, Edinburgh. The letter, now in the Cowie collection, Glasgow, has never been printed in full.

⁴ Formal transfer of Goldielea to Walter Riddell was not made until May 14, 1792 (see Gladstone, p. 24). The Riddells may have moved in two or three months prior to that date, but there is no evidence of their being in Scotland at all until January, 1792.

Soon after Burns moved to Dumfries in the autumn of 1791 Robert Riddell's younger brother Walter (1763-1801) appeared in Scotland. For a man of twenty-eight he had had a great deal of experience—in the army, and out again; a widower at twenty-four, after less than a year of marriage; in funds for the moment, but shortly to be out of them. He seems to have had his brother's conviviality without his brother's modicum of intellect. Though Burns was later to lampoon him in an epigram and to speak scornfully of him in a letter to one M'Leod,¹ more of the poet's habitual attitude is revealed by the fact that Walter's name never occurs in Burns's many letters to Walter's wife.

In 1790 Walter Riddell, already three years a widower, had been in the West Indies, where he owned an estate in Antigua. In St. Kitts he met Maria Banks, youngest daughter of William Woodley, governor of the Leeward Islands. Though Maria's mother was a native of St. Kitts, the girl had been born and educated in England. She was pretty, vivacious, intelligent, and well read in the polite literature of the day. After a brief courtship she married Walter Riddell, September 16, 1790, when she still lacked two months of being eighteen. Shortly after, the pair returned to Britain. In the summer of 1791 they were in London, where their eldest daughter was born on August 31. Early in the winter they appear to have visited at Carse while Walter looked at property in the neighborhood.

It must have been at this time that Burns met Maria. She had written an account of her voyage to the Indies,² and wished to print a few copies for private circulation. At the end of January, 1792, she carried to Edinburgh a letter of introduction from Burns to his friend William Smellie.³ The letter indicates that the poet's acquaintance with Maria was not of long standing; it also indicates that he already admired her. She dabbled in polite verse-making, and Burns gallantly assured Smellie that her work was "much beyond the common run of the *Lady Poetesses* of the day." By Smellie's advice, Maria enlarged the plan of her publication to an edition of five hundred copies for the

¹ Chambers-Wallace, *Life and Works of Robert Burns* (Edinburgh, 1896), IV, 110-11, 160. Most statements of fact for which I make no specific citation are based on this edition.

² *Voyages to the Madeira and Leeward and Caribbean Isles, with Sketches of the Natural History of These Islands*, Edinburgh, 1792.

³ Chambers-Wallace, III, 311.

Edinburgh and London markets. For us, however, the most important result of her Edinburgh visit was a warm friendship with the slovenly, raucous-tongued printer, to whom she wrote at intervals until his death in 1795. From selections from the correspondence published by Smellie's biographer it is possible to trace in some detail Maria's movements from 1792 to 1795. This information is of the highest importance in untangling the story of her relations with Burns.¹

About the end of February, 1792, Maria returned to Dumfries, where her husband was negotiating for the estate of Goldielea, which he renamed Woodley Park in her honor. She exchanged letters with Smellie during the spring and summer, and in September the printer visited at Woodley Park. In November, Maria's book was published, and on the twenty-second she wrote her thanks for some early reviews which Smellie had forwarded. The following day her second daughter was born. It was nearly a year later (November 17, 1793) before Maria wrote again, prefacing her letter with a rapid summary of her doings during the twelvemonth. She had visited Edinburgh again in February, 1793; in April she and her husband had gone to London for seven or eight weeks; she then visited her family in the west of England. Early in the summer Walter Riddell went to the Indies on business; at the date of writing he was still there and she was living in seclusion with her books, music, and babies at Woodley Park.

At this point two blunders on Kerr's part have misled readers of the correspondence. He gives in its proper order Smellie's reply to the letter just summarized, but prints the date as March 27, 1793—plainly a mistake for November or December, since the letter answers a question Maria asked in hers of November 17. Her next continues the narrative from the point where she left off in November, but Kerr prints the date as January 12, 1793. Presumably Maria had made the mistake we all make in January, and Kerr overlooked the obvious correction to 1794. Her husband, she writes, is still absent, and not expected home until after the equinox. In a brief reply, dated March 3, 1794, Smellie hopes Walter Riddell will soon return; two months later he expresses sorrow at Robert Riddell's death.

¹ For the Riddell-Smellie letters see R. Kerr, *op. cit.*, II, 360-88.

II

Thus the chronology of Maria Riddell's life is clearly established from the beginning of her acquaintance with Burns until several months after the quarrel. Though Burns was a frequent guest at Woodley Park, and therefore had little occasion for letter-writing, the course of his friendship with Maria is marked by more than a score of notes. Unfortunately he seldom dated with anything more lucid than "Friday eve"; hence the sequence is obscure. Evidently, though, Maria's return to Woodley Park in the autumn of 1793 elicited several. She could not invite Burns to her home in her husband's absence, and thus their communication was limited to writing, to meetings at the homes of mutual friends, and to little receptions between the acts at the theater, though these last were liable to frustration by the intrusion of "lobster-coated puppies."¹ But Maria is the "first and fairest of Critics,"² and her poet the unluckiest of mortals because when he is in love "Impossibility presents an impervious barrier to the proudest daring of Presumption, & poor I dare much sooner peep into the focus of Hell, than meet the eyes of the goddess of my soul!"³

And then the celestial harmonies are jarred by the famous "letter from Hell,"⁴ printed by Currie in 1800 with the addressee cautiously indicated as "Mrs. R*****." No editor has seen it since; hence we have no clue to the identity of the ladies mentioned. The most important passage is the following:

... If I could in any measure be reinstated in the good opinion of the fair circle whom my conduct last night so much injured, I think it would be an alleviation to my torments. . . . To the men of the company I will make no apology.—Your husband, who insisted on my drinking more than I chose, has no right to blame me; and the other gentlemen were partakers of my guilt. But to you, Madam, I have much to apologize. Your good opinion I valued as one of the greatest acquisitions I had made on earth, and I was truly a beast to forfeit it. There was a Miss I— too, a woman of fine sense, gentle and unassuming manners—do make, on my part, a miserable d—mned wretch's best apology to her. A Mrs. G—, a charming woman, did me the honor to be prejudiced in my favor; this makes me hope that I have not outraged her

¹ Chambers-Wallace, IV, 74, where the letter is given in Currie's garbled text. For the correct text of one of its component notes see *Burns Club Facsimiles* (St. Louis, 1908), p. 86.

² Unpublished portion of the note which Currie combined with the foregoing. MS sold at Sotheby's, February 14, 1929.

³ Chambers-Wallace, III, 363-64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 77.

beyond all forgiveness.—To all the other ladies please present my humblest contrition for my conduct, and my petition for their gracious pardon. O all ye powers of decency and decorum! whisper to them that my errors, though great, were involuntary—that an intoxicated man is the vilest of beasts—that it was not in my nature to be brutal to any one—that to be rude to a woman, when in my senses, was impossible with me—but—

Such apology is not pleasant reading, but several details must be noted. The letter is addressed to his hostess of the previous evening, but nothing in it, abject as it is, indicates that he had assaulted her: he is apologizing equally to all the ladies present for some drunken rudeness he had offered them all. Furthermore, the hostess's husband was of the party, and Burns blames him for the drunkenness. Walter Riddell, the accepted candidate for the dishonor, was, when his wife wrote on January 12, 1794, still in the Indies, and not expected before April. Of course he might have decided to risk the winter voyage, and have turned up at home just after his wife posted her letter. But in that case the orgy cannot have occurred earlier than January 13. And so we come to two other letters, still extant and indubitably addressed to Maria:

... I have sent you Werter: truly happy to have any, the smallest, opportunity of obliging you.

'Tis true, Madam, I saw you once since I was at W[oodley] p[ark], and that once froze the very life-blood of my heart. Your reception of me was such, that a wretch meeting the eye of his judge, about to pronounce sentence of death on him, could only have envied my feeling and situation. But I hate the theme, and never more shall write or speak of it. . . .¹

This is strange language to use to a lady before whom the writer has recently been groveling in contrition. Either she has accepted his apology, or she has not; in neither case is it his part to announce that he hates the theme and intends to let it drop. As a sequel to the "letter from Hell" this does not fit. Neither does the next, and last, in the series:

MADAM

I return your Common Place Book.—I have perused it with much pleasure, & would have continued my criticisms; but as it seems the Critic has forfeited your esteem, his strictures must lose their value.—

If it is true, that "Offences come only from the heart;"—before you, I am guiltless.—To admire, esteem, prize and adore you, as the most accomplished

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 78–79.

of Women, & the first of Friends—if these are crimes, I am the most offending thing alive.—

In a face where I used to meet the kind complacency of friendly confidence, *now* to find cold neglect and contemptuous scorn—is a wrench that my heart can ill bear.—It is however some kind of miserable good luck, that while *De-haut-en-bas* rigour may depress an unoffending wretch to the ground, it has a tendency to rouse a stubborn something in his bosom, which, though it cannot heal the wounds of his soul, is at least an opiate to blunt their poignancy.—

With the profoundest respect for your exalted abilities; the most sincere esteem & ardent regard & [*sic*] for your gentle heart & amiable manners, & the most fervent wish & prayer for your welfare, peace & bliss—

I have the honor to be,

MADAM,

your most devoted humble serv^t

ROBT BURNS

Dumfries 12th Jan^y
1794

Currie printed this letter without the date, and though a facsimile was published as long ago as 1861,¹ and the original is on exhibition in the Burns Memorial at Mauchline, no standard edition contains that vital detail. On the very day on which Maria told Smellie that her husband was not expected until after the equinox, her estrangement from Burns reached its final stage; the quarrel must therefore have begun sometime before, since even Burns's irritable pride would require more than one show of "*De-haut-en-bas* rigour" to rouse him to such a pitch of retort upon a valued friend.

The conclusion is inescapable. The drunken affair must have occurred at Friars Carse toward the close of December, 1793,² with Robert and Elizabeth Riddell in the rôles hitherto assigned to Walter and Maria. Remembering Grose's experience, and noting Burns's reference to the Mrs. G— who did him the honor to be prejudiced in his favor, we may surmise a stormy scene in which Elizabeth Riddell's part was far from passive. To explain the last two letters to Maria, the likeliest assumption is that hearing of his conduct in her sister-in-law's house Maria decided to take Burns down a peg, but miscalcu-

¹ In Griffin's edition of the poems of Burns and Scott.

² Probably between Christmas and New Year's. On Christmas Day Burns wrote to Mrs. Dunlop that he was working on the Glenriddell MS of transcripts of his letters, and hence must still have been on good terms with Robert Riddell.

lated the effect of her rigor upon his raw pride. No other explanation of the letters is possible. The plain dates deny Walter Riddell's presence, and Burns manifestly feels that Maria is treating him with a harshness he has done nothing to deserve from her. Though inordinately proud, with a full share of the normal impulse of self-justification, he certainly had sense enough to realize that a lady whom he had grossly affronted had a right to resentment. But he had apologized not only to Elizabeth Riddell but also, despite his first refusal, to her husband, sending him the lines beginning "The friend, whom, wil'd from wisdom's way."¹ When, after all this, Maria nevertheless undertook to discipline him, it is hardly surprising that he flared up.²

III

In light of this knowledge, the events following the breach assume new perspective. Robert Riddell died, unreconciled, on April 21, 1794; Burns forgot his resentment and published an elegiac sonnet. Meantime, Walter had returned, his efforts at raising money plainly unsuccessful, for on April 17 the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* carried an advertisement of the sale of Woodley Park.³ No purchaser appearing, its former owner repossessed the estate, and Walter forfeited the £1,000 he had paid as deposit.⁴ Sometime in the early summer of 1794 Walter and Maria went to London with the intention of continuing thence to the Continent for a two years' stay, but the "rapid successes of French arms" barred the road. Hence after visiting in London "with a very pleasant set of *sans-culottes*," Maria returned to Scotland to take temporary residence at Tinwald House, between Dumfries and Lochmaben. From that address she wrote to Smellie, February 9, 1795, mentioning that she intended to move in May. She did so, occupying Halleaths, east of Lochmaben and thus still farther from Dumfries, where she remained until she left Scotland forever in 1797. These addresses enable us to correct the dates of several of Burns's later letters to her.

¹ Chambers-Wallace, IV, 78. It has hitherto been assumed that the lines were addressed to Walter Riddell.

² From the fact that Currie printed the "letter from Hell" apart from the series of letters addressed to Maria, one might infer that he knew it was not addressed to her. But it is seldom safe to infer anything save general incompetence from Currie's editorial acts.

³ Gladstone, *op. cit.*

⁴ Burns's letter to M'Leod, supplemented by information obtained by Mr. Gladstone from the Goldielea records.

The poet's conduct toward Maria during 1794 is discomfiting reading. Within a fortnight from his publication of the elegiac sonnet on Robert Riddell he had composed, and offered to Perry of the *London Morning Chronicle* (who had sense enough not to print it), the puerile *Extempore Pinned to a Lady's Coach*. This act, however, is additional proof of his complete dissociation of Maria from the incident which had cost him Glenriddell's friendship. When his self-love was wounded he might lack chivalry and discretion, but had his treatment of Maria been intimately connected in his mind with his estrangement from her brother-in-law he could scarcely have been brute enough to follow his elegy with a lampoon upon the woman he had insulted. To him the two were plainly separate quarrels. The elegy is a sequel to the "letter from Hell" and "The friend, whom, wil'd"; the *Extempore*, to the final letters quoted above.

In the same mood of childish resentment he began in March his *Monody on a Lady Famed for Her Caprice*, and on June 25 sent the completed mess to Clarinda. No defense is possible for such stuff, but at least it mitigates the sin to know that Burns was resenting what he considered unjustified treatment from a woman whom he had never personally injured, and not wantonly adding verbal insult to the previous physical insult of drunken misconduct. His wrath against Maria seems to have followed a fairly steady crescendo until it cracked into the falsetto of these lampoons and the equally stupid epigram on her husband, beginning "So vile was poor Wat." But in early summer the objects of his invective went off to London and were seen no more about Dumfries for several months. Burns wrote no more epigrams or monodies, though he continued from time to time to favor his friends with copies of the old stock.¹ By the beginning of 1795 his temperature was back to normal and he was ready for reconciliation.

The first move was made by Maria, who sent him a book. Burns replied in an extremely formal note in the third person,² stating that he was very busy with his duties as acting supervisor of excise—which dates the letter early in 1795³—and asking the loan of *Anacharsis*'

¹ The *Extempore* recurs as late as May 30, 1795, among a batch of epigrams which he copied out for Creech while suffering agonies from toothache (see Chambers-Wallace, IV, 227; also *Burns Club Facsimiles*, p. 44).

² Chambers-Wallace, IV, 190.

³ He began duty between December 20 and 29, 1794 (letter to Mrs. Dunlop [Chambers-Wallace, IV, 178]). When he wrote, April 25, 1795, to John Edgar of the Excise Office, Edinburgh, explaining a technical irregularity in his accounts, Alexander Findlater had already resumed duty.

Travels, which he had heard she intended giving to the Dumfries Public Library. Maria sent the volume, and when he returned it a few weeks later his letter of thanks was quite in his old vein of gaiety and friendship.¹ His increasing illness in 1795 and 1796 often interrupted the correspondence, but there is no further shadow of estrangement, and in Maria's account of her last meeting with Burns and in the sketch of him which she published a few weeks after his death we have her conclusive testimony to their reconciliation.²

IV

The foregoing outline of the relations of Burns and Maria Riddell is based primarily on the letters of the two principals. But two documents remain which do not fit into the pattern.

The first of these is that clumsy parody of Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard* included in all complete editions of Burns under the title *Esopus to Maria*. It was first printed by Cunningham in 1834, allegedly from Burns's manuscript,³ the whereabouts of which was not stated. No other editor has seen the manuscript, and there is no record of its appearance at auction. Remembering J. C. Dick's remark that "all the mischief done by 'Honest Allan' as a literary forger will never be discovered,"⁴ one is tempted to conclude forthwith that whatever manuscript Cunningham had before him was not in Burns's hand. Suspicion is strengthened by the absence of all mention of the poem in Burns's extant letters. His other lampoons on Maria and her husband he transcribed often for the edification of his friends, but he never so much as hinted at the existence of *Esopus*. In a man whom neither discretion nor good taste could silence when he felt himself aggrieved and who distributed copies of even his worst poems at every opportunity, such reticence is unparalleled.

¹ Chambers-Wallace, IV, 253, under the wholly erroneous date of January 29, 1796. The text is Currie's garbled combination of two different letters, further muddled by Scott Douglas. For a correct text of the first—addressed, like its formal predecessor and another note which accompanied the loan of the Reid miniature, to Tinwald—see Mr. R. B. Adam's private printing of his Burns collection (Buffalo, 1922). The second, addressed to Hal-leaths—probably Burns's first note to that address, for the name is misspelt—is facsimiled in R. le Gallienne, *In Memory of Robert Burns*, London, 1896.

² Chambers-Wallace, IV, 267-77 and 520 ff.

³ A. Cunningham, *Works of Robert Burns, with His Life* (London, 1834), III, 230.

⁴ *The Songs of Robert Burns* (London, etc., 1903), p. 469.

When we turn to the poem itself we find positive grounds for doubting Burns's authorship. Its satirical method is wholly unlike any of his acknowledged work.

The occasion of its composition was the misadventure of James Williamson, an actor who for a time managed Dumfries theater, and who had led his company across the Solway to give a series of performances in Whitehaven. Here, by order of Lord Lonsdale, he and his company were arrested as vagrants. The poem pictures the actor as addressing Maria Riddell from his workhouse cell. The following portions deal directly with her and Burns:

Prepare, Maria, for a horrid tale
Will turn thy very rouge to deadly pale;
Will make thy hair, tho' erst from gipsy polled,
By barber woven, and by barber sold,
Though twisted smooth with Harry's nicest care,
Like hoary bristles to erect and stare.

Bless'd Highland bonnet! Once my proudest dress,
Now prouder still, Maria's temples press.
I see her wave thy towering plumes afar,
And call each coxcomb to the wordy war.
I see her face the first of Ireland's sons,
And even out-Irish his Hibernian bronze;
The crafty colonel leaves the tartaned lines,
For other wars, where he a hero shines:
The hopeful youth, in Scottish senate bred,
Who owns a Bushby's heart without the head;
Comes, 'mid a string of coxcombs to display,
That *veni, vidi, vici*, is his way;
The shrinking bard adown an alley skulks,
And dreads a meeting worse than Woolwich hulks;
Though there, his heresies in church and state
Might well award him Muir and Palmer's fate:
Still she undaunted reels and rattles on,
And dares the public like a noontide sun.
(What scandal call'd Maria's janty stagger,
The ricket reeling of a crooked swagger?
Whose spleen e'en worse than Burns' venom when
He dips in gall unmix'd his eager pen,—
And pours his vengeance in the burning line,
Who christened thus Maria's lyre divine;
The idiot strum of vanity bemused,

And even th'abuse of poetry abused!
 Who called her verse, a parish workhouse made
 For motley, foundling fancies, stolen or strayed?)

.
 Maria, send me too thy griefs and cares;
 In all of thee sure thy Esopus shares.
 As thou at all mankind the flag unfurls,
 Who on my fair-one satire's vengeance hurls?
 Who calls thee, pert, affected, vain coquette,
 A wit in folly, and a fool in wit.
 Who says that fool alone is not thy due,
 And quotes thy treacheries to prove it true?
 Our force united on thy foes we'll turn,
 And dare the war with all of woman born:
 For who can write and speak as thou and I?
 My periods that decyphering defy,
 And thy still matchless tongue that conquers all reply.¹

The title, alluding to the Roman actor Esopus, together with the Latin tag, is suspicious, for Burns had no Latin, and in his later years seldom pretended to a knowledge not his. The text itself strengthens suspicion. To begin with, the allusions to Burns himself are out of character. He is first named with three others of Maria's past admirers. Of the Irishman nothing is known,² but young Maitland Bushby was a son of the John Bushby with whom Burns had an obscure feud, and "the crafty colonel" is Andrew M'Doual of Logan, seducer of Peggy Kennedy, one of Burns's early flames. The poet despised "Sculdud'ry" M'Doual, as the Second Heron Election Ballad shows; in a general attack upon Maria's friends it is strange that he escapes almost unwhipped. Still stranger is the attention directed to Burns's own political heresies, which he had tried to soft-pedal since they had nearly cost him his job in January, 1793. Even more out of character is the allusion to his "eager pen." Though Burns often mentions himself by name in other poems, it is always with some humorous depreciation. Such extravagant self-praise cannot be paralleled elsewhere in his work. It might perhaps be explained as part of the general suspension of good judgment under which the epistle was written, if the rest conformed to his usual methods. This it emphatically does not.

¹ I have preserved Cunningham's muddled punctuation.

² Cunningham identifies him by the singularly un-Hibernian name of Gillespie, but tells nothing about him.

However bitter, however savage, or however feeble Burns's acknowledged satires are, one characteristic holds: he attacks always the moral weaknesses of his victims, not their physical peculiarities. Even the forcible-feeble *Ode Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Oswald* deals with reputed arrogance and avarice; even the silly *Monody* on Maria herself attacks the moral traits of vanity, loquacity, and caprice. Yet in *Esopus* Maria's physical traits, from her hair to her gait, bear the brunt. Burns might, as the reference in the *Monody* to vanity strumming her idiot lyre suggests,¹ have been guilty of the description of Maria's poetry, but none of his acknowledged work offers even a remote parallel to the "ricket reeling" of her "crooked stagger." Nor is it like Burns to hint charges he fears to speak openly. Certainly the closing passage, "in all of thee . . . Esopus shares," insinuates that Maria was Williamson's mistress, but had Burns thought her adulterous—and he nowhere else voices even a suspicion of her chastity—he would surely have stated the charge less equivocally.

Internally, in short, the poem lacks the qualities of Burns even at his feeblest, and has many qualities unlike his. The external evidence is regrettably incomplete, but such as it is it corroborates the unlikelihood of his authorship.

Available information about Williamson's misadventure is sketchy, and the date cannot be ascertained. Of two authorities cited by editors one is imperfect and the other worthless. Chambers refers to an account published in the *Kendal Mercury* of July 10, 1852. This is a communication signed "G"—obviously the work of someone with a grudge against the Lowther family, its sole purpose being to call attention to the portion of *Esopus* in which the Earl of Lonsdale is attacked by name. The writer plainly owes all his information to Cunningham's *Burns*, and the care with which he read Cunningham may be judged from his assertion that the poem was written at Ellisland, which Burns had left before he ever met Maria.²

¹ Besides this, there is one other verbal parallel between *Esopus* and Burns's acknowledged work: the characterization of young Bushby recurs in the Second Heron Election Ballad, stanza 3. In the absence of all other similarities, it seems more reasonable to assume *Esopus* to have been written by someone who knew Burns's work and appropriated two of his thoughts than to argue Burns's authorship from two similarities amid a mass of differences.

² From a transcript of the *Mercury* item, furnished by courtesy of the librarian of the Public Library, Kendal.

In their note to the poem Henley and Henderson quote a contemporary account of the arrest from "a cutting from a Chester newspaper of 1795."¹ They fail to specify the date more exactly, and efforts to trace files of Chester papers have been fruitless. From a reference in the cutting to the actors' discomfort in a fireless room, it is clear that the arrest occurred in the winter, presumably that of 1794-95. But all Burns's acknowledged lampoons were written in the spring of 1794, and, as we have seen, Maria was in London during the summer and autumn of that year. Moreover, Tinwald was much farther than Woodley Park from Dumfries, and Maria told Smellie that she lived at Tinwald in almost complete seclusion during her husband's prolonged absences. After the spring of 1794, therefore, Burns would have had little need to skulk down alleys to avoid meeting her in the streets. But if we accept his authorship of *Esopus* we must believe that at least six months after the completion of the *Monody*, and just before—if not, indeed, at the very time when—he was making the first formal advance which led to complete reconciliation with Maria, Burns restoked the fires of his resentment to such heat that he produced an attack far longer, and far more caddish, than anything he had written in the first bitterness of the breach. Yet it was no part of his nature to cherish long, cold grudges. If he did not write *Esopus* in the spring of 1794, he did not write it at all.

But if Burns was not the author, who was? Obviously someone well acquainted with both Burns and Maria Riddell, and hence resident in or near Dumfries. Not many of the local gentry can have combined a satiric bent with amateur versifying. But there was at least one—Charles Sharpe of Hoddam, father of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe. Burns had made his acquaintance in 1790 by writing him a broadly humorous letter signed "Johnie Faa."² No other letters are known, but Burns is reputed to have been on good terms with Sharpe, who besides a fondness for broad humor had some talent as a violinist and is said to have written verse, though no specimens are traceable. To attribute *Esopus* to Sharpe we need evidence that he disliked Maria Riddell, and of this the second of the two documents mentioned above furnishes at least a hint.

¹ *Centenary Burns*, II, 354.

² Chambers-Wallace, III, 287-88.

The *Burns Chronicle* for 1903¹ published the following curious memorandum by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe—undated, but written on the back of a bill dated 1808, the year of Maria's death:

There was a Lady—it is needless to outrage her ashes by recording her name—whose intimacy with Burns did him essential injury—their connection was notorious—and she made him quarrel for some time with a connexion of her own, a worthy man, to whom her deluded lover lay under obligations.

She was an affected—painted—crooked pastiche—with a mouth from ear to ear—and a turned-up nose—bandy legs—which she however thought fit to display—and a flat bosom, rubbed over with pearl powder, a cornelian cross hung artfully as a contrast, which was bared in the evening to her petticoat tyings—this pickled frog (for such she looked, amid her own collection of natural curiosities) Burns admired and loved—they quarreled once, however, on account of a strolling player—and Burns wrote a copy of satirical verses on the Lady—which she afterwards kindly forgave, for very obvious reasons—amid all his bitterness he spared her in the principal point which made her shunned by her own sex, and despised by the rest of the community.

Apart from its grotesque account of Maria's appearance—belied in every feature save the tip-tilted nose by her portrait after Sir Thomas Lawrence in the Burns Memorial at Mauchline—the memorandum makes three definite statements about her relations with Burns. It accuses her of having brought about the breach between him and Robert Riddell; it asserts that they quarreled over a strolling actor, presumably Williamson; it declares in substance that she was Burns's mistress, and that she ultimately forgave his satiric verses because he had spared her worst failing. This last apparently means that Burns refrained from impugning her chastity; it is therefore certain that the "copy of verses" is the *Monody* and not *Esopus*, since the latter hints broadly enough that Williamson was Maria's lover.

All three of Sharpe's charges collapse before the first-hand evidence of Burns's letters. The breach with Robert Riddell followed that orgy hitherto assigned to Woodley Park. The letters marking the subsequent breach with Maria contain no hint of jealousy of Williamson or anyone else—indeed, the only touch of jealousy in the whole correspondence is the reference, already quoted, to a "lobster-coated puppy," and there the dislike was more of the uniform than of the man. Finally, there is no suggestion of any sexual relation between Burns and Maria. At times he adopted a tone of flirtatious compli-

¹ P. 100.

ment or hinted at agonies of thwarted love, but the very nature and tone of such remarks are proof that they were neither meant nor taken seriously. His whole friendship with Maria was as nearly platonic as was possible to a man of his temperament.

But Sharpe's note is not quoted merely to be disproved. Its chief interest lies in its possible source. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, born May 15, 1781, was not yet thirteen when Burns and Maria quarreled; he was only sixteen when Maria left Scotland forever. Though he had often seen Burns, and doubtless Maria too, surely no boy of thirteen, nor even a lad of sixteen, ever made at first hand those detailed observations, inaccurate though they are, on the manners, morals, and looks of a woman nine years his senior. They must represent what he heard, then or later, from older people who disliked Maria. The likeliest place for him to hear such things would be at home, and this possibility, together with some notable similarities—crookedness, affectation, rouge, gait—between "the Scottish Walpole's" picture of Maria and the description in *Esopus*, may justify the suggestion, as a hypothesis to be tested, that Sharpe of Hoddam wrote the poem.

We need much more evidence before the question of authorship can be settled. The present article has accomplished its purpose if it has elucidated the circumstances of Burns's estrangement from the Riddells and has shown that, whoever wrote *Esopus to Maria*, Burns can hardly have done so.

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THE FIRST VERSION OF THE WRITINGS OF WASHINGTON IRVING IN SPANISH

A BIBLIOGRAPHY of the writings of Washington Irving in Spanish presents a difficult problem. Editions in German, beginning with *The Sketch Book*,¹ are numerous and accessible. Editions in French are relatively unobtainable, but records exist of the chief French printings.² From time to time curious translations in other languages appear.³ Yet versions of Irving's writings in the country in which he passed the best part of eight years of his life, and from which he drew the materials for five books,⁴ are exceedingly rare. Moreover, of these no complete bibliography exists—a fact due chiefly to the indifference of Spaniards in assembling editions of his works.⁵

¹ Examples of the early translation of *The Sketch Book* into German are *Gottfried Crayon's Skizzenbuch*, aus dem Englischen des Washington Irving, übersetzt von S. H. Spiker (2 vols.; Berlin, 1825); and *Gottfried Crayon's Skizzenbuch* . . . (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1826). Irving's collected works were published in German at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1829.

² Irving's writings were translated into French almost as soon as they appeared in English. In 1830 he was sufficiently well known in France to be the subject of a brief description in J. M. Quérard's *La France littéraire, ou Dictionnaire bibliographique* (Paris, 1830), IV, 182. This was due partly to Irving's frequent and long stays in France between 1819 and 1826; to his associations with Galignani; and to the wide circulation of his works in France through Baudry's printings of them in English. (Baudry published an eighteenth edition of *The Sketch Book* in 1831.) There have been fully three times as many versions of Irving in French since 1820 as in Spanish. Some of the more interesting early editions are: *Voyage d'un Américain à Londres, ou Esquisses sur les mœurs anglaises et américaines* . . . (Paris, 1822); *Esquisses morales et littéraires, ou Observations sur les mœurs, les usages, et la littérature des anglais* . . . (Paris, 1822); *Le Château de Bracebridge* . . . (Paris, 1822); *Historiettes d'un voyageur* . . . (Paris, 1825); *Contes d'un voyageur* . . . (Paris, 1825); *Histoire de New York* . . . (Paris, 1827); *Histoire de la vie et des voyages de Christophe Colomb* . . . (Paris, 1828); *Histoire de la conquête de Grenade* . . . (Paris, 1829); *Histoires des voyages et découvertes des compagnons de Christophe Colomb* . . . (Paris, 1833). (In 1885, at Tours, was published the sixteenth edition of this book.)

Although all the translations in Spanish listed in this article are, save Nos. 23 and 26, based upon the English, there can be no question but that the knowledge concerning Irving in Spain depended partly, in his own lifetime and later, on such translations in French. In the Spanish libraries referred to in the list are many copies of these French editions, as well as in such private or semi-private libraries as those of the Instituto de Valencia (Madrid), the University of Seville, the Ateneo (Seville), the Ministerio de Marina (Madrid), and the Duke of Alba (Madrid). The municipal libraries of Cadiz, Seville, and Madrid, as examples, all contain French translations of Irving.

³ Interesting examples are *Astoria*, in Dutch (Haarlem, 1837); *A Tour on the Prairies*, in Russian (Moscow, 1837); and "Rip Van Winkle," in Hungarian (Budapest, 1919).

⁴ *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828); *The Conquest of Granada* (1829); *Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus* (1831); *The Alhambra* (1832); *Spanish Papers* (1866).

⁵ The largest collection in Spain is in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; it consists of some forty works, in Spanish, French, and English.

Ephemeral but suggestive versions and adaptations may still be found in out-of-the-way collections, and the probable existence of others makes it unlikely that the list here printed, the most complete of its kind, is final.

Yet such versions possess a fascination not held by the translations of this American writer in other languages. This is partly because they suggest the nature and extent of Irving's reputation in a country with which his name will always be associated;¹ partly because they must be hunted down with the greatest patience;² but chiefly because the Spaniards have usually made peculiar use of the originals, rendering them by adaptations rather than by translations, thus indicating definitely what, in the judgment of these translators or adapters, would interest Spanish readers of Irving.

An examination of all known editions of Irving in Spanish, with a study of their prefaces, and the additional testimony of reviews in periodicals, permit conclusions about Irving's reputation in Spain from 1826, the year of his first visit to the Peninsula, until recent times; but the present study is concerned primarily with the book representing the first known appearance of Irving's writings in Spanish. The fact, however, that it was the first of a long line of translations and adaptations is important, and these are here fully listed. It will probably be a matter for surprise to see that they number forty-two, and that they are based on eight different works of Washington Irving.³

I. VERSIONS OF *THE SKETCH BOOK* (LONDON, 1819)

1. *Tareas de un solitario, ó nueva colección de novelas*. Por D. JORGE W. MONTGOMERY. Madrid, 1829. [This book contains three essays or stories derived from Irving: "El Sueño," "El serrano de las Alpujarras," and "El cuadro misterioso." This last story is taken from *Tales of a Traveller*.

¹ Existing studies of Irving base their discussion of his relations with Spanish thought on his works and on a few published letters. Comparatively little is known of Irving from Spanish sources. It will be possible to describe Irving's stay in Spain from additional unpublished manuscripts and diaries, in a forthcoming biography by the author of this article.

² Of the items in the list only Nos. 13, 14, 24, 35 are easily available in Spanish book-stores. Of most of the other items only one copy is known to be in existence.

³ For assistance in compiling this list I am indebted to Professor John de Lancey Ferguson, who has kindly permitted me to use his *American Literature in Spain* (New York, 1916), pp. 220-23. I have personally examined, except when otherwise stated, each translation (Spanish and others) mentioned in this article, and full bibliographical details are available. Such details are not set down here for reasons of space. In every case the location of one copy of each item is named. Translations of Irving which appeared in magazines are not included. Professor Ferguson names seven such items (*op. cit.*, p. 223).

A copy of *Tareas de un solitario* is in the possession of the author of this article.¹

2. *Novelas españolas*: "El serrano de las Alpujarras," "El cuadro misterioso." Brunswick [Maine], 1830. [An edition by H. W. Longfellow of two tales from *Tareas de un solitario*. In the Ticknor Collection, Boston Public Library.]²
3. *The same*. New York, 1842. [Re-edited with a translation by Julio Soler. In the Ticknor Collection, Boston Public Library.]
4. *The same*. Brunswick, 1845. [This is a reissue of the first edition, and contains also the *Coplas* of Manrique and excerpts from *Don Quixote*. In the Ticknor Collection, Boston Public Library.]
5. *Leyendas extraordinarias*. Traducción del inglés por M. JUDERÍAS BÉNDER. "El caballero sin cabeza," III (Madrid, 1882), 39-79. [In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.]
6. *Cuentos clásicos del norte* ("Biblioteca interamericana," Vol. III). Traducción de CARMEN TORRES CALDERÓN DE PINILLOS. "Rip Van Winkle," pp. 11-42; "La leyenda del valle encantado," pp. 45-95. New York, 1920. [With introductions and notes. In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.]³

II. VERSIONS OF TALES OF A TRAVELLER (LONDON, 1822)

7. *Tareas de un solitario* [cf. p. 186].
8. *Horas de invierno*, "El espectro desposado," No. 16, pp. 137-68. Madrid, 1836. [In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.]
9. *Aventuras de un misántropo*. POR X. B. SAINTINE. "El retrato misterioso," novela escrita en inglés por M. Whashington [sic] Irving, pp. 289-335. Madrid and Barcelona, 1860. [In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.]
10. *The same*. "El misterioso extranjero," pp. 295-98; "Historia del joven italiano," pp. 298-335. Madrid and Barcelona, 1860. [Apparently a revision and reprinting of the preceding edition. In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.]
11. *Los buscadores de tesoros*. Barcelona, 1893. [A translation and adaptation of Part IV of *Tales of a Traveller*. In the Library of the Hispanic Society, New York.]

¹ The scarcity of copies of this book may be due to the fact that at the time of publication it was under the suspicion of the censor. See P. M. Irving, *Life and Letters of Washington Irving* (New York, 1864), II, 370, 401. Only one other copy is known, that once owned by Longfellow and now in the possession of Mr. H. W. L. Dana, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. This was originally the copy given by Montgomery to Everett who sent it to Longfellow. A brief description of this copy of *Tareas de un solitario* may be found in Iris Lillian Whitman, *Longfellow and Spain* (New York, 1927), p. 90. For my copy of the book I wish to express my thanks to Miss Alice Bache Gould, of Valladolid.

² In this copy is an excerpt from the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of June 26, 1882, attributing the authorship of the book to Longfellow.

³ I have been unable to locate a translation of "Rip Van Winkle," by Gutiérrez Nájera, a Mexican writer. "Leed á Washington Irving, y si no sabéis inglés, buscad á Gutiérrez Nájera para que podáis experimentar por un momento, un instante nada más, la angustia desolada del pobre *Rip-Rip*" (Ángel Guerra, *Literatos extranjeros* [Impresiones críticas; Valencia, 1903?], p. 62).

III. VERSIONS OF *A HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND VOYAGES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS*
(LONDON, 1828)

12. *Historia de la vida y viajes de Cristóbal Colón*. Escrita en inglés por EL CABALLERO WASHINGTON IRVING, y traducida al castellano por D. JOSÉ GARCÍA DE VILLALTA. Madrid, 1833-34. [An excellent but rare edition in four volumes of the work for which Irving is best known in Spain. A copy is in the Library of the Hispanic Society, New York.]
13. *The same*. GASPARY ROIG (eds.). (Biblioteca ilustrada de Gaspar y Roig.) Madrid, 1851. [Another translation. This edition and the two following are the most frequently seen in Spain of all Irving items. Copies exist in the important libraries of Cadiz, Granada, Seville, Madrid, and other cities, and are obtainable at booksellers. A copy of this edition is in the Library of Columbia University.]
14. *The same*. [Madrid, 1852? A second edition.]
15. *The same*. Madrid, 1854. [In the Library of the Hispanic Society, New York.]
16. *The same*. Traducida por E. M. ORTEGA. México, 1853. [In the Biblioteca Columbina, Seville.]
17. *The same*. Reimpreso por las Bibliotecas Populares. Santiago [Chile], 1859. [In the Biblioteca Columbina, Seville.]
18. *The same*. Edición abreviada por el mismo autor para uso de la juventud, y mandada por el Ministerio de Instrucción Pública de Chile. Valparaíso, 1893. [No copies of this edition are known. Mentioned in Diego Barros Arana, *Obras completas* (Santiago, 1909), VI, 121.]
19. *The same*. Madrid, 1884. [Another translation. In the Biblioteca del Ateneo, Madrid.]

IV. VERSIONS OF *THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA*
(LONDON, 1829)

20. *Crónica de la conquista de Granada*. Escrita en inglés por MR. WASHINGTON IRVING. Traducida al castellano por D. JORGE W. MONTGOMERY, autor de *Las tareas de un solitario*. Madrid, 1831. [In the Library of the Hispanic Society, New York.]
21. *The same*. Sacada de los manuscritos de FR. ANTONIO AGAPIDO [sic] por MR. WASHINGTON IRVING, y traducida del inglés por DON ALFONSO ESCALANTE. [This edition was advertised in *El Abencerraje* (Granada, 1844). The existence of a copy of this book in Spain or even the fact that it was actually published is unproved.]¹
22. *La conquista de Granada*. Por H. L. BULWER. Precedida de una Introducción por WASHINGTON IRVING, traducida libremente por la SEÑORITA MARGARITA LÓPEZ DE HARO. . . Madrid, 1860. [Condensed excerpts from

¹ Cf. p. 193, n. 2.

Irving's book are prefixed to a translation of Bulwer's history. In the possession of Señor Seco de Lucena, Granada.]

23. *Crónica de la conquista de Granada*. Estractada de la que escribió en francés VASHINGTON [sic] IRVING, por ADRIANO LEMERCIER, y vertida al castellano ... por J. R., Barcelona, 1861. [I have been unable to locate a copy of this edition. Mentioned by J. de L. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 221.]

V. VERSIONS OF *VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE COMPANIONS OF COLUMBUS* (LONDON, 1831)

24. *Viajes y descubrimientos de los compañeros de Colón*. Por WASHINGTON IRVING, Madrid, 1854. [Gaspar y Roig. In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.]

VI. VERSIONS OF *THE ALHAMBRA* (LONDON, 1832)

25. *Cuentos de la Alhambra, de Washington Irving*. Traducidos por D. L. L., Valencia, 1833. [This volume contains eight tales. In the Library of the Hispanic Society, New York.]
26. *The same*. Translated by D. MANUEL M. DE SANTA ANA from the French of M^{LE} SOBRY. Madrid, 1844. [In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.]
27. *Las cinco perlas de la Alhambra: Cuentos originales*. ... Escritos en inglés por WASHINGTON IRVING, y traducidos del francés por D. MANUEL M. DE SANTA ANA. Madrid, 1844. [Apparently another and revised edition of the preceding. In the Biblioteca de la Sociedad Económica de Amigos ... Seville.]
28. *Colección de novelas*. Traducidas por DON RAFAEL GARCÍA TAPIA. "La rosa de la Alhambra." Granada, 1849. [In the Biblioteca de la Universidad de Granada.]
29. *Cuentos de la Alhambra*. Granada, 1859. [This volume contains ten tales. In the Library of the Hispanic Society, New York.]
30. *The same*. Madrid, 1882. [No copy of this edition has been located. It is advertised as in preparation on the cover of Hawthorne's *El tesoro escondido y los pigmeos* (Madrid, 1882). This book is in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. See J. de L. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 218, 222.]
31. *The same*. Versión directa del inglés por EL DOCTOR JOSÉ VENTURA TRAVASET, ... precedida de una nota biográfica del autor por D. A. GONZÁLEZ GARBÍN. Granada, 1888. [In the possession of Señor Antonio Gallego y Burín, Granada.]
32. *The same*. Segunda edición, corregida y aumentada. Granada, 1893. [In the Library of the Hispanic Society, New York.]
33. *Leyendas de la Alhambra*. Barcelona, 1906. [In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.]
34. *Cuentos de la Alhambra*. Versión española con una nota biográfica sobre el autor y sus obras por PEDRO UMBERT. Barcelona [1910]. [In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.]

35. *The same*. [In "Nueva biblioteca de literatura." Valencia [1926?]. [In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. A modern edition, well known in Spain.]
36. *The same*. Escritos en inglés por EL CABALLERO NORTE-AMERICANO WASHINGTON IRVING, traducción española de DON DOMINGO SICILIA Y SAN JUAN. Barcelona, n.d. [In the Biblioteca de la Sociedad Económica de Amigos ... Seville.]
37. *Leyendas de la Alhambra*. [In "La novela breve." Barcelona, n.d. [In the Biblioteca de la Sociedad ... Seville.]
38. *Leyendas maravillosas*. [In "Biblioteca de la Juventud." N.p., n.d. Pp. 35-49, 50-75. [This volume contains three tales. In the Biblioteca de la Sociedad ... Seville.]
39. *El legado del Moro: Leyenda de la Alhambra*. Por WASHINGTON IRVING; versión castellana de NATALIA COSSÍO DE JÍMEZ. N.p., n.d. [This and the following item are in the Colección Infantil Granada. Copies of both are in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.]
40. *Las tres bellas infantas: Leyenda de la Alhambra*. Por WASHINGTON IRVING; versión castellana de NATALIA COSSÍO DE JÍMEZ. Madrid, n.d.¹

VII. VERSION OF THE *LIFE OF MAHOMET*
(NEW YORK, 1849)

41. *Historia de Mahoma*. Escrita en inglés por WASHINGTON IRVING; traducida al español por J. S. FACIO. México, 1857. [In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.]

VIII. VERSIONS OF *WOLFERT'S ROOST* (NEW YORK, 1855)

42. *Memorias de un gobernador*. Por WASHINGTON IRVING; traducción del inglés por M. JUDERÍAS BÉNDER. Segunda edición. Madrid, 1882. [In the Library of the Hispanic Society, New York. Nothing is known of the first edition.]

The pioneer of all these versions in Spanish was the *Tareas de un solitario*, a book which so aroused the admiration of Longfellow that he made excerpts from it for use in his classes. The *Tareas* is still, for various reasons, the most interesting of such adaptations. One reason is its excessive rarity, both in Spain and in the United States. It has never been studied, but without it no adequate notion can be formed of what qualities in Irving's writings first suggested his introduction to Spanish readers. Another reason is connected with the circumstances of its first appearance. It came to light anonymously, only after its author, Montgomery, had had a severe altercation with the censor, "who saw libel and treason against the King in the Spanish

¹ A recent edition for use in American schools and colleges is *Leyendas de la Alhambra* (ed. Carlota Marienzo and Laura B. Crandon, New York, [1927]).

version of 'Rip Van Winkle'!"¹ But most important are two other facts connected with it—the light thrown upon the translator, George Washington Montgomery (and his relations with Irving in 1826 and later), and the conclusions to be drawn from the nature of Montgomery's selections.

A study of *Tareas de un solitario* brings to light Montgomery, a little-known but a gifted writer of American literature. Montgomery was referred to in a contemporary magazine as "un joven américo-valenciano."² His mother, of whom nothing is known, may have been Spanish. His father was John Montgomery, a citizen of the United States and a well-known merchant of Alicante, where the son, George Washington Montgomery, was born in 1804. Montgomery was educated at Exeter, in England, and for some years was private secretary to the Marquis of Casa Yrujo.³ During Irving's first stay in Spain from 1826 to 1828, Montgomery was attached to the United States Legation at Madrid. On September 17, 1835, he was appointed United States consul at San Juan, Porto Rico. In 1838 he went to the United States and was sent from Washington as bearer of dispatches to Guatemala. Later he was appointed United States consul to Tampico. In this climate his health suffered, and he returned to America. He died in Washington in 1841 at the age of thirty-seven.⁴

Such were the events in his rather undistinguished life, but it is evident from his books that Montgomery was a person possessed of

¹ Cf. p. 187, n. 1.

² *Revista de ciencias, literatura y artes* (Seville, 1856), II, 756, n. 1. The article in which this allusion to Montgomery occurs criticizes him severely for his alterations in translating *The Conquest of Granada*. "El traductor tuvo que contemporizar con las exigencias de la época, y suprimió de la *Crónica* su parte mas interesante, que era el personaje del fraile cronista" (*ibid.*).

³ Irving during 1826 was on intimate terms with this family (*Journal* [MS] [1826], *passim*, in the New York Public Library).

⁴ Brief accounts of Montgomery occur in S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors* (Philadelphia, 1870), II, 85, and in J. de L. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14. The latter contains interesting details secured from the Ticknor Collection, G. P. Putnam's Sons, and the Department of State. Additional information from the last-named source shows Montgomery to have been steadily in the service of the American government during the last five years of his life. At intervals during 1839, 1840, and 1841 he was employed as copyist and indexer in the Department of State, where his correspondence as consul and bearer of dispatches is still preserved. Other facts in the present article are derived from a description of Montgomery little known, but authoritative, since its author was a personal friend during the years in Madrid: Obadiah Rich, *Bibliotheca americana nova: A Catalogue of Books Relating to America . . . II (1801-44)* (London, 1846), p. 329. (Irving wrote the greater part of the *Columbus* in Rich's house.)

an enviable prose style in both Spanish and English, and of a romantic taste likely to attract and be attracted by the author of *The Alhambra*. He translated or adapted not merely portions of *The Sketch Book*, but also, with many additions of his own, Irving's *Conquest of Granada*.¹ He wrote a historical novel, *El bastardo de Castilla*, based on the story of Bernardo del Carpio.² His English was strong and clear, as is evidenced in the result of his pilgrimage to the south, his *Narrative of a Journey to Guatemala*.³

A genuine friendship existed between Montgomery and Irving. Montgomery's name occurs constantly in the manuscript journals of 1826 and 1827,⁴ and during Irving's sojourn in Seville in 1828 the two were still in communication.⁵ The files of the American Embassy in Madrid reveal that Montgomery was official translator under Alexander H. Everett.⁶ His mastery of Spanish was apparently unusual, for the bibliographer, Obadiah Rich, says: "His Spanish works met with great applause in Spain for the classical purity of their language, and have been adopted by many Spanish teachers, as classbooks."⁷ Moreover, Montgomery, as his translations, his novel, and his narrative of travel show, was fond, like Irving, of local romantic tradition. It is certain that at some time during their official and unofficial association in Madrid they had discussed the possibility of a translation of some of Irving's writings into Spanish, and that Irving gave him permission and encouragement to do this. Since Irving's writings, especially in such a book as *Tales of a Traveller*, were then unknown in Spain, it is probable that for his translations Montgomery used Irving's own copies of this work and of *The Sketch Book*.

¹ Montgomery's version of *The Conquest of Granada* shows careful condensation, and omits entirely Fray Antonio Agapida. It is a far less fortunate rendering of Irving than *Tareas de un solitario*. Cf. p. 193.

² Don Jorge Montgomery, *El bastardo de Castilla: Novela histórica, caballeresca, original* (2 vols. in one; Madrid, November, 1832). This book is almost as difficult to obtain as *Tareas de un solitario*.

³ New York, 1839. Some of Montgomery's mannerisms as a writer in Spanish reappear curiously in this book in English, notably his sentimental farewells to the reader. A copy of this book is in the Yale University Library.

⁴ In the New York Public Library. Irving mentions frequently both Montgomery's name and that of his sister, e.g., August 4, 1826: "Walk in Retiro with Montgomerly"; September 1, 1826: "ev[en]ing with the Montgomeries at Mr. Everett's."

⁵ *Washington Irving Diary, Spain, 1828-1829*, ed. C. L. Penney (New York, 1926), p. 19.

⁶ *U.S. Legation, Official Papers, 1829*, Nos. 143 and 459, in the American Embassy, Madrid.

⁷ Obadiah Rich, *loc. cit.*

Irving was familiar with and not displeased by translations of his works into French and German,¹ and he could not have been averse to the extension of his reputation in a country of which, as soon as he began the *Columbus*, in the spring of 1826, he was deeply enamored. In 1842 he manifested great pleasure at the translation into Spanish of his *Alhambra*.² Montgomery followed, as has been said, *Tareas de un solitario* with a translation of the long *Conquest of Granada*. It is even possible to believe that Montgomery planned with Irving's concurrence a series of translations of his friend's writings, but abandoned the project when he went to Porto Rico in 1835.³

Tareas de un solitario, with its hardly won *con licencia* on the title-page, bears evidence of its eccentric origins. Montgomery's name does not appear, nor does that of Irving. The translator dedicated his "little work," as he called it, to Everett,⁴ and in the Introduction he alludes to his own romantic interests. In this connection he adds: "My purpose has been solely that of pleasing and entertaining, and of encouraging with my example those who with more ability and more skilful pen can cultivate this kind of writing, which in this day is making so much progress and receiving such approbation throughout Europe."⁵ Besides this Introduction of four pages, Montgomery's volume contains two hundred and twenty pages (and an Index). There are eight tales or sketches: "El sueño"; "Matilde y Teodoro, ó los gemelos"; "El serrano de las Alpujarras"; "El cuadro misterioso"; "El agravio satisfecho"; and "El mudo por amor." Of these, one hun-

¹ ". . . After breakfast corrected French translation of T[ales of a] T[raveller] . . . the French translator called . . ." (*Journal* [MS], December 1, 1824, in the New York Public Library).

² "Among my various visitors was Señor Escalante, one of the principal officers of Government, a very agreeable accomplished man who among his various offices has been Governor of Granada. He expressed himself very handsomely about my writings respecting that city, and told me he was in England when my 'Alhambra' was published, and that he had translated parts of it as an exercise. Indeed I find that little work continually acting as a passport for me to the good graces of the Spaniards" (letter to Mrs. Sarah Storrow, August 12, 1842, in the possession of Yale University). It is highly probable that this Señor Escalante was also the author of the translation of *The Conquest of Granada*. See list, No. 21.

³ Montgomery was planning a translation of *The Conquest of Granada* in the very year of its publication (letter of A. H. Everett to Irving, Madrid, July 28, 1829, in the possession of G. S. Hellman, New York City).

⁴ "Al Sr. D. Alejandro H. Everett, Enviado Extraordinario y Ministro Plenipotenciario de los Estados Unidos de América cerca de S.M.C. etc. etc. etc. Se dedica respetuosamente esta obra en testimonio de la consideración y reconocimiento del autor."

⁵ *Tareas de un solitario*, iii.

dred and eight pages, or not quite half the book, are based upon Irving. "El sueño" is a composite sketch founded upon two essays in *The Sketch Book*: "The Art of Bookmaking" and "The Mutability of Literature." "El serrano de las Alpujarras" is a version of "Rip Van Winkle," in *The Sketch Book*. "El cuadro misterioso" is a translation of "The Story of the Young Italian," in *Tales of a Traveller*. "Matilde y Teodoro" and "El agravio satisfecho" are garbled but not ineffective renderings of, respectively, Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and *Much Ado about Nothing*, and "El mudo por amor" is a tale of unknown origin, concerning a cavalier who swears and keeps a vow, at the command of his lady, to be mute for love.¹ All these stories show Montgomery's fondness for the elements of romance: disguises, tempests, tournaments, mysterious meetings, revenges, castles, and single combats. The purpose in *Tareas de un solitario* seems to have been to create a book which would float on the waves left, even in Spain, by the mighty ships of Byron and Scott.

What is more interesting, however, is that Montgomery thought Irving worthy, from the romantic nature of his tales, to be the basis of almost half of such a book. This was partly due, of course, to personal regard, but the selection suggests strongly Montgomery's appreciation of a side of Irving which has been underemphasized. The gentler tales in *The Sketch Book* and the mildness of *Bracebridge Hall* have obscured for students the strain in Irving which found expression in the Italian tales, full of extravagant supernatural romance. Even the too-little known *Alhambra* seems to have many echoes of a Gothic strain.² During his early journey to Italy in 1804 Irving was less interested in the traditional Addison than in Mrs. Radcliffe. Of this writer he was apparently a devoted student.³ Likewise in the years immediately preceding this first period in Spain, his journals show him to have been constantly engaged, in company with Tom Moore, on subjects like

¹ I have been unable to locate definitely Montgomery's source for this tale. It is possible that he saw Lewis Machin and Gervase Markham, "The Dumb Knight," in Dodsley's *Old Plays* (London, 1825), IV, 379-451. The parallel incident in this play of Mariana swearing Philocles to be dumb for a year, in return for a kiss, is derived, according to Langbaine, from Bandello's novels, which may have been the original source of Montgomery's tale.

² See passages on the enchanted cavern, or the ancient armor, in *The Alhambra* (ed. cit.), pp. 391, 481, 485.

³ One novel carried by Irving on a journey between Bordeaux and Marseilles was Mrs. Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1797) (*Travelling Notes* [MS; 1804], in the New York Public Library).

those of "The Young Italian."¹ Judged in its entirety, this mood of the obvious and exciting romance, which he admired excessively in Byron, and in his master, Scott, is very strong in him. Thus Montgomery's judgment was, on this point, more discerning than that of some later critics, and it is suggestive that when he wished to write a book in the romantic spirit, which as he says "en el día va haciendo tan grandes progresos ... en la Europa,"² he turned to *The Sketch Book* and *Tales of a Traveller*. In the history of the "external romance," of goblins, castles, spirits, and romantic lovers, Irving is, compared with the masters, a tame figure, yet it is notable that this aspect of him was that first known in the Peninsula.

Something also may be learned of Irving's kinship with the spirit of the age by Montgomery's treatment of Irving's themes. Of the three essays founded on Irving each is highly representative; that is, each is a characteristic expression of his romantic tendencies. Thus the first, "El sueño," is a reproduction of the mood most frequently associated with Irving—that of tender melancholy or reverie. Montgomery begins his book with this more restrained mood. This theme, always recurrent in Irving's work, is that of the transiency of life, flux, the mutability of things. It finds supreme expression in such essays as "Westminster Abbey," but is equally evident in the essay Montgomery selects (which is better suited in its details to his Spanish subject), "The Mutability of Literature." Books and the making of books and their futility, save for the miracle of some immortal writer—this and the melancholy aroused by such contemplations are reiterated themes in Irving. These are hardly profound reflections, but in Irving they were sincere and they produced some of his best work, a "Westminster Abbey" or a "St. Mark's Eve." The constant repetition in the same phrases in notebooks and essays of the mood of melancholy³ and the relation of this to Irving's life-experience is another matter. The point here is that Montgomery repeats it for his Spanish readers in "El sueño."

After announcing the scene as the new Biblioteca Real, a setting derived from "The Art of Bookmaking," in which the background is the

¹ *Journal*, February, 1824, quoted by Pierre M. Irving, *op. cit.*, II, 187, 188.

² *Cf.* p. 193, n. 5.

³ *Cf. Notes while Preparing Sketch Book &c., passim*, in the possession of Yale University, and also "The Young Italian" in *Tales of a Traveller* (Riverside ed.; New York, 1868), *passim*.

British Museum, Montgomery gives us the familiar mood, in free translation, from "The Mutability of Literature." In the great library, in the silence of the innumerable books or "literary catacomb," the reader meditates:

¡Ah! dije, mirando al rededor; ¡qué penosos estudios, qué largos desvelos habrán costado las obras que estoy viendo á los ingenios que las produjeron!; ¡Cuántas noches sin sueño, cuántos días sin descanso, pasarían sus autores en la soledad de sus aposentos ó en la reclusión de los claustros, lejos del trato social y de todos los placeres, engolfados unos en las sutilezas de la teología, y otros empeñados en los laberintos de la controversia académica! Y todo ésto para qué? ... para ocupar al fin un corto espacio en uno de estos estantes, para llenar un renglón en el índice de la Biblioteca, y para llamar, alguna vez por casualidad, la atención de algún otro curioso como yo. ¡Hé aquí el fruto de sus tareas, y la suma de esa pretendida inmortalidad por la que tanto se afanaron! Su fama fue semejante á un meteoro que brilla por un momento, y luego desaparece sin dejar el menor rastro, ó como el estrépito del cañón, que hiere nuestro oído, y en seguida se pierde en la inmensidad del aire.¹

There are other passages from "The Mutability of Literature," but the essay except for a few details now follows "The Art of Bookmaking." In a dream the reader sees the masters of old, not, of course, as in the original, with humorous adumbrations, Sir Philip Sidney, Ben Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher, but Le Sage, Corneille, Florian, Cervantes, and Calderón. Both of the English sources end light-heartedly, but it is evident that Montgomery is pleased by his mood of romantic melancholy, for he sustains it to the end; he evidently regards his essay as an overture to the more exciting tales of romance to follow.

Chief of these is "El cuadro misterioso," from Irving's last published work, of two years previous. In this, *The Tales of a Traveller*, consistent with a favorite device, Irving makes "The Young Italian" an outgrowth of a section called "The Adventure of the Mysterious Stranger," and this, in turn, is part of a larger framework called "The Mysterious Picture." Montgomery, although he kept the last-named title, substituted for Irving's two introductions his own. His version has many changes in minor details. For example, he alters names, revises dialogues, and interpolates some poetry in Italian; yet, in the main, he follows Irving's story faithfully. It will be recalled that this is a romance of conventional stamp: of a pale, melancholy, gifted

¹ *Tareas de un solitario*, pp. 2-4; cf. *The Sketch Book* (ed. cit.), p. 174. An occasional error in accents in this, and later excerpts, have been retained as in the original.

hero, blessed and tortured by extreme sensibility, a very replica of the heroes of Gothic romance. Betrayed by his brother and robbed by him of his betrothed, the morbid lover revenges himself, and then suffers endless tortures of remorse. The story is standard in theme and development, but in both Irving and Montgomery it is told with intensity and a breathless eagerness that make it a not unworthy example of its genre. From the time of the composition of "The Student of Salamanca" which he had planned to include in *The Sketch Book*,¹ Irving had been intermittently absorbed in this interest. Montgomery must have read all of Irving's tales of this kind, and our re-reading of them vindicates his judgment that "The Young Italian" was the best. Of Montgomery's speculations concerning its especial appeal to a Spanish audience we know nothing, but it is clear that he thought it representative of his friend's work, and likely to get a hearing in Spain.

That "Rip Van Winkle" should have been among Montgomery's selections seems at first inevitable. It was the best known in America of Irving's writings, and a favorite in England. Reconsideration shows, however, that in translation it has never been a leader. In spite of its repetition of the commonplace theme of the mutations of time, its local characteristics are so marked that it has never been in other countries a particular favorite. Moreover, a subsequent fate in other Spanish versions seems to indicate that it was not easy to handle. No one was eager to offer a mere translation; apparently none appeared until "La leyenda del valle encantado" in 1920.² And unskillful adaptations had their perils, as evidenced by the version of "Rip Van Winkle," noticed by Ángel Guerra in his *Literatos extranjeros*. In this adaptation of the story, made by Gutiérrez Nájera, a Mexican, "Rip-Rip," as he is called, is a woodsman who, after a severe day's work in the woods, falls asleep for the stereotyped period. Rip-Rip returns, according to this writer, the incarnation of the vanity of all things, and finds, as did he of the Catskills, all changed, but, in addition, "¡su mujer había cambiado, y estaba en brazos de otro hombre que no conocía, satisfecha con su nuevo cariño! ¡Le había olvidado!" Rip-Rip wept, seized his ax, and returned to the woods to die. "Pobre Rip-Rip"³ indeed!

¹ Manuscript fragment, dated 1843, in the possession of Dr. Roderick Terry, of Newport, R.I.

² Cf. in list, No. 6.

³ Cf. p. 187, n. 3.

This is not especially felicitous, but it is defensible to say that if one visualizes the full difficulty of reproducing in a foreign language the particular coloring and mood which Irving achieved, one's sympathy is likely to be with the translator. But Montgomery chose this tale for translation deliberately, dealt with it intelligently, and made it, despite his changes, nearly as effective and gracious as the original. I suspect that behind the skill with which he interwove Spanish elements with his Dutch-American theme lay many a conversation with Irving on a certain subject. That subject was the use of romantic local legend.

Let us first, however, consider Montgomery's version. "El serrano de las Alpujarras" begins with an account of the traditions which haunt these mountains, and the reappearance at intervals of their ancient Moorish conquerors:

En efecto, se asegura que desde el seno de aquellas montañas suelen salir voces extrañas y espantosas, y que á veces, como si se batieran dos ejércitos, se oye el estrépito de las armas y las carreras de los caballos. Aun hoy día afirman algunos haber visto allí, unas figuras que parecían moros. De aquí ha nacido el misterio y el temeroso respeto con que los naturales hablan de aquellas sierras, y este podrá ser el origen de las admirables cosas que se dice haber ocurrido en ellas.¹

The counterpart of Rip Van Winkle is the peaceful Andrés Gazul, and of Dame Van Winkle, his termagant wife, Gertrudis. In his aversion to work, in his popularity in the village, in his dog Tarfe (a Spanish "Wolf"), Andrés is the echo of Rip. He spends his patrimony, wanders into the mountains with Tarfe, and hears the mysterious cry "Andrés! Andrés Gazul!" resound. Then straightway he beholds not a short, square-built Dutchman carrying a keg of liquor, but

vió una figura extraña que á pasos lentos se venía por la ladera del monte arriba, la cual, alzando la mano y la cabeza, le hizo señas de que bajáse. Obedeció Gazul, ya fuese por miedo ó ya por su natural condescendencia, y al acercarse á aquel objeto, vió un anciano venerable, vestido de una ropa talar, blanca como el armiño. Las hebras argentadas de su barba le llegaban hasta la cintura: traía un báculo en la mano; y una especie de turbante le cubría la cabeza. El anciano, con aire de autoridad y rostro grave, hizo nueva seña á Andrés para que le siguiese.²

¹ *Tareas de un solitario*, pp. 64, 65. So Hendrick Hudson and his crew returned at intervals to the Catskills; cf. "Rip Van Winkle," *The Sketch Book* (ed. cit.), p. 70.

² *Tareas de un solitario*, pp. 74, 75; cf. *The Sketch Book* (ed. cit.), p. 58.

Like Rip, Andrés was brought to an amphitheater, but instead of Dutchmen he found himself among the Moors:

¡Cuál sería el asombro de Andrés al descubrir repentinamente en este sitio una lucidísima comparsa de caballeros moriscos bizarramente vestidos! Las marlotas recamadas de oro y plata, los turbantes de diversos colores, las relucientes cimitarras, y en fin, el lujo esquisito de sus arneses, deslumbraba la vista, llenando al pobre Andrés de una confusión inesplicable. Quería ya el temeroso labrador volver sobre sus pasos para retirarse, é incontinenti los moriscos le rodean, le detienen, y le saludan á la usanza mora, cruzando las manos sobre el pecho y haciéndole profundas zalemas. En seguida le despojan de la rústica zamarra, la montera y las albarcas, y le visten un magnífico Caftan forrado de pieles de marta, y bordado de oro con franjas de lo mismo. Un precioso cinturón, guarnecido de piedras finas, ciñe su cuerpo, y á su lado pende un corvo alfange damasquino de inestimable precio. Unos borcegues de finísimo tafíete adornan los pies del Serrano; y por último, colocan sobre su cabeza un ancho turbante de tocas verdes y blancas, bandeadas de oro con muchas sartas de perlas. Sobre el turbante ondeaba un penacho blanco, y una media luna de diamantes centelleaba sobre su frente eclipsando la luz del día.¹

Crowned king of Granada, and with the battle-cries of the Moors ringing in his ears, Andrés falls under the influence of the fumes of oriental opiates in a tripod, and sinks into a long slumber. The rest of the Spanish tale is orthodox: Andrés wakes to find his rusted gun beside him, and Tarfe absent; he returns to the village bewildered, but is identified and lives on as an honored patriarch. Only the necessary changes are made, such as that of the Union Hotel and the Dutch names.²

The significance, then, of Montgomery's version lies in his skilful adaptation of the American legends of the Catskills to those of the Alpujarras. Compared with the drab setting of the Dutch revelers, the Moorish background seems somewhat flamboyant, yet it is very effective. Now if we concede Montgomery's intelligence in the selection for his books of other characteristic aspects of Irving (reverie in "El sueño" and extravagant adventure in "El cuadro misterioso"), we may also credit him with perception of how close was Irving's local romantic tradition to that of the Spaniards.

¹ *Tareas de un solitario*, pp. 76, 77; cf. *The Sketch Book* (ed. cit.), pp. 59, 60.

² Montgomery describes in detail, as in the *artículo de costumbres*, the manners and customs of the village, Cadiar.

As a matter of fact, Irving himself owed much in the composition of "Rip Van Winkle" to German legend.¹ He himself had been an adapter. Yet he had probably heard the old tale from Dutch families of the Catskills just as Andalusians had heard of the mysterious ghostly Moors in the Alpujarras. Montgomery saw how similar was the setting and used his opportunity. There is incidentally another detail of interest, the inclusion in both "Rip Van Winkle" and "El serrano de las Alpujarras" of a considerable body of realistic material, reminding one of the form then crescent in Spain of the *novela de costumbres*. Irving in these very years discussed the elements of this form with its greatest creator, Fernán Caballero.² In her *novelas de costumbres* indeed, though emphasis is upon the actual far more than in "Rip Van Winkle," there are occasionally introduced romantic tales. The essential fact, however, about Montgomery's version is his deft use of the popular interest in romantic legend.

This, then, is the real interest of *Tareas de un solitario*: it exhibits the easy identification of Irving's American legends with those of Spain. In fact, a number of passages which took form in his mind in 1829 during the composition of *The Alhambra* are strikingly similar to those employed by Montgomery in his adaptation of "Rip Van Winkle."³ One is tempted to believe that Irving had discussed these matters fully with Montgomery, as we know he discussed folk lore with Fernán Caballero. It is probable that Irving's later popularity in Spain was due not wholly, as is often stated, to his use of Span-

¹ See *The Sketch Book* (ed. cit.), "Note" and "Postscript," pp. 73, 74.

² In another article I have tried to suggest the relations of Irving with the Spanish *artículo de costumbres*, with particular reference to his friendship in 1828-29 with Fernán Caballero (1796-1877). The story that Fernán Caballero, then Marchioness of Arco Hermosa, read aloud to Irving the manuscript of her novel, *La familia de Alameda*, has been often repeated. See, e.g., Ángel Salcedo Ruiz *La literatura española* (Madrid, 1916), III, 462-64. For the most authoritative evidence that Irving probably discussed with her this particular book see Fernán Caballero, *La familia de Alameda: Novela original de costumbres populares* (ed. W. S. Hendrix and E. H. Hespelt; Boston, 1928), Introd., xii. Whether or not Irving saw *La familia de Alameda* in manuscript, it is certain that he discussed with the Spanish writer the material of the *costumbres*. On December 31, in Seville, he wrote: "Called this morning . . . on the Marchioness of Arco Hermosa, made a long visit, the Marchioness relates many village anecdotes of the village of Dos Hermanas. Return home & make a note of two of them." On the next day he wrote: "Make notes of Stories of Dos Hermanas" (*Washington Irving Diary*, pp. 89, 90). See S. T. Williams, "Washington Irving and Fernán Caballero" in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, July, 1930.

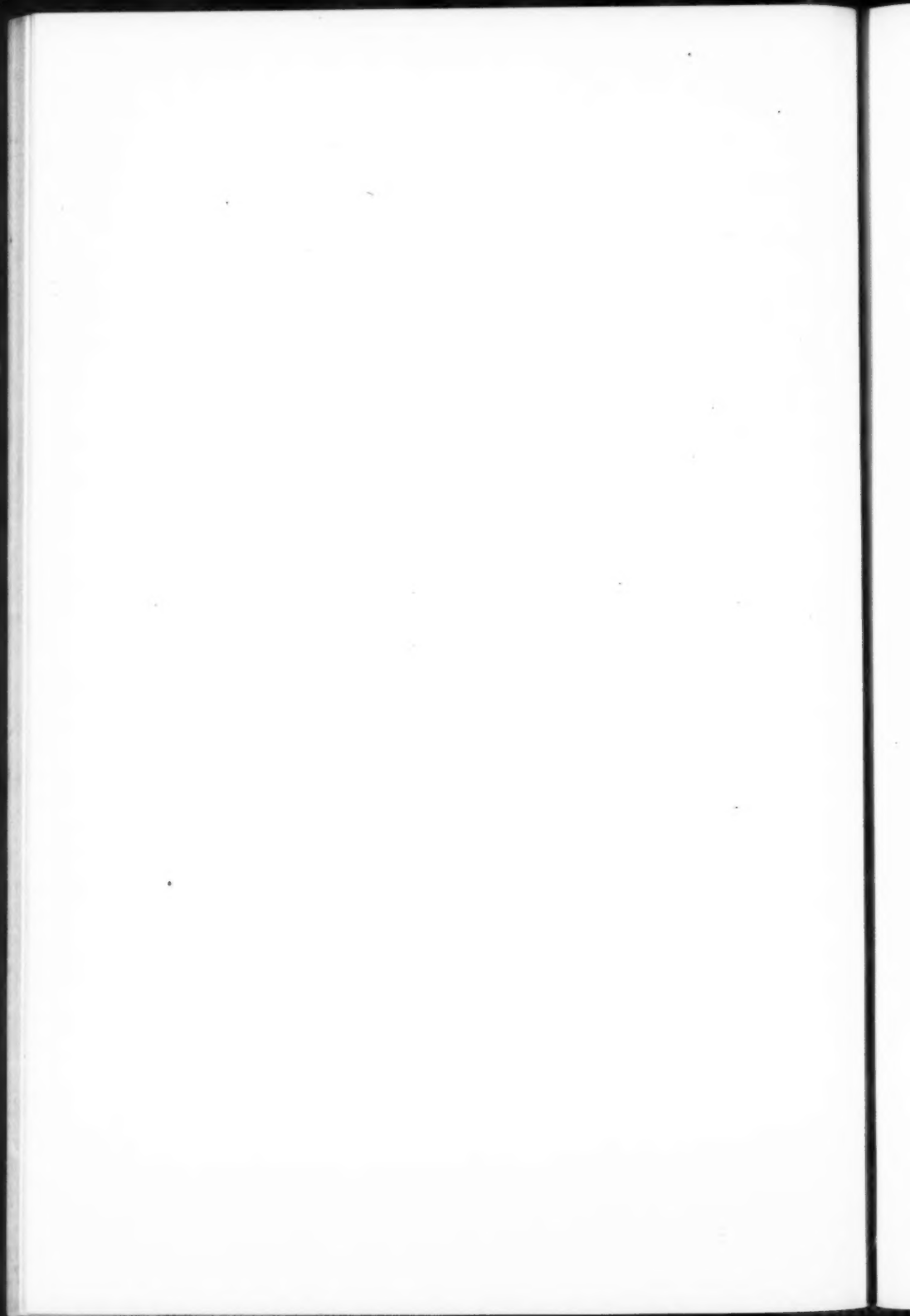
³ The stories told by Mateo Ximenes, the Spanish peasant in *The Alhambra*, of the return of the Moors to their old habitations. See, in particular, the story of "the phantom army" (*The Alhambra* [Riverside ed.; New York, 1868], pp. 284-87).

ish historical subjects as in the *Life and Voyages of Columbus* and *The Conquest of Granada*, but also to his able manipulation of the Spanish *leyenda*. Ángel Ruiz ascribes his reputation in Spain to his use of *elementos conocidamente legendarios y poéticos*.¹ Indeed, some interesting conclusions might be drawn about the dependence of Irving's reputation in Europe between 1830 and 1840 upon his happy adjustment to a great popular European literary interest. This is particularly so of his success in Spain, but it is sufficient for the present to indicate that the first version of his writings in Spanish not only introduced him in three of his characteristic local romantic moods as a writer, but identified him at once with the Spanish *leyenda*.

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¹ *La literatura española*, II, 412.



NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

WHY DOES BRANGIEN DENOUNCE KARIADO?

An interesting problem is presented by the passage in Thomas' *Tristan*¹ in which Brangien, the lovers' confidante, informs King Mark that Isolt, "who has never committed any 'folie' before," is on the verge of doing so now, and that her lover is not, as the King naturally suspects, Tristan, but Kariado, Mark's trusted seneschal. It will be recalled that in the immediately preceding scene Brangien and Isolt had had a violent quarrel and that Brangien had threatened her mistress that she would go directly to the King to tell him of Isolt's illicit relation with Tristan. Between these two scenes there is nothing in the romance to prepare the reader for this unexpected turn in the plot.

The subject has engaged the attention of several commentators, including Professor Bédier, who discusses it at some length in his edition of Thomas' romance,² to which the reader is referred for a summary of the arguments advanced by various scholars. In the present note I shall offer two considerations with regard to Brangien's conduct which have been overlooked by previous commentators, one of an artistic, the other of a textual nature.

From the artistic point of view, we may see in this episode an added proof of Thomas' keen insight into the psychology of his characters. It will be remembered that the cause of Brangien's anger against her mistress was the humiliation which Brangien had suffered when taunted by Kariado that Kaherdin, Tristan's brother-in-law, to whom Brangien had, at Isolt's urging, accorded favors, was a coward, and the conviction held by Brangien that Isolt had conspired to humiliate her. An author with fine psychological instinct must perceive that here is the sort of insult which no woman, and especially no woman of Brangien's character, can allow to pass unavenged. Brangien's delicate problem, however, is to devise a means of revenge which shall strike both offenders and in a degree be commensurate with the guilt of each. Although Brangien believes that Isolt is guilty of complicity in bringing this humiliation upon her and that she should be punished for it, it is nevertheless Kariado who has insolently taunted her, and this is a far more serious offense in Brangien's eyes. If she carried out her threat to denounce Tristan and Isolt to the King, she would obtain revenge as regards Isolt, but Kariado's impudence would still remain unanswered. By adopting the stratagem which she does, namely, by denouncing Kariado instead, she obtains double revenge: Kariado is driven away from the court and Isolt is placed

¹ *Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas*, ed. Joseph Bédier, vss. 1617 ff.

² *Ibid.*, I, 361-62 n.

under the rigid guardianship of Brangien, who proceeds to exercise this newly acquired power to Isolt's detriment.

From the textual point of view, there is a strong presumption that Kariado, who appears in this episode for the first time in Thomas' romance, is the same personage as Mariadok, who has figured in earlier important episodes. The presumption is supported by the fact that the *Saga*, which is a translation of Thomas, does not introduce into this very important scene a new character named Kariado, but attributes the rôle to Mariadok. Professor Bédier's only comment on this point is that the Mariadok reading of the *Saga* is contradicted by the original text.¹ But may not the reading of the Douce MS, upon which Bédier's edition is based, be a scribal error for Mariadok?

There is still another point which strengthens the presumption. Thomas is usually most consistent in developing his characters. In the earlier episodes of the romance Mariadok plays the rôle of the villain. There does not seem to be any good reason to believe that Thomas has discarded this figure and introduced into so important an episode an entirely new character, having no connection whatever with the previous action. Moreover, an examination of the earlier relations between Mariadok and Brangien throws a most interesting light on the subject. These two are old-time antagonists. Once before they had engaged in a dramatic duel of cunning against cunning, when Mariadok had instigated the King to compel Isolt to confess her guilty love for Tristan, and Brangien had saved Isolt from falling into the trap. Mariadok could not have forgotten this defeat at Brangien's hand nor could he have forgiven her for it. When an opportunity for revenge presented itself, he seized it to taunt her with having bestowed favors upon a coward. Brangien, however, once more proves her superior talents and completely routs her enemy. Is it possible that Thomas failed to perceive the dramatic value of such a situation? He was too conscious an artist to have overlooked it.

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GEORGE PEELE IN THE CHANCELLOR'S COURT

In the records of the Chancellor's Court at Oxford during the years 1580-84 there are numerous references to George Peele.² He had become involved in a suit in which Roger Horne and John Yate were the chief parties, Philip Coles, who was Horne's counsel, also appearing. The exact details of the suit are not very clear, since the pleadings are not given; but it appears that

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 341, n. 2.

² Bodleian MSS, Univ. Oxon. Arch.: *Depositiones*, No. 2 (1578-84) and *Acta cur. canc.*, C (1578-82) and D (1580-84). These records have not been edited. Most of the entries referred to below, including the "Cautio" of 1580, the two entries in the *Acta* in which Peele's wife is referred to by name, and the deposition of July 24, 1584, were discovered by Mr. Strickland Gibson, keeper of the archives, who in 1923 very kindly searched the records at my request for references to Peele.

early in February, 1579/80 Horne had entered into an agreement with one Hugh Christian (alias Cooke) for the bargain and sale of certain lands.¹ Christian died in March, 1579/80;² and the agreement was therefore not carried out. Horne, however, on his part had paid Christian certain moneys; and in October he comes into court asking for his lands. His suit is directed against John Yate, who in the meantime had married Frideswyde, Christian's widow and the sole executrix under the will.³ George Peele becomes a party to the suit since he had married Anna, Christian's only child,⁴ and since an interest in the lands in question had descended to her under the will.⁵ Peele entered into a new agreement with Horne for the sale of a portion of the lands, the remainder being transferred to Yate.⁶ As part payment from Horne, Peele accepted the moneys which had already been paid to Christian, hoping as he says to reimburse himself out of the estate.⁷ This second agreement in its turn was never carried out. The suit was settled by Peele's repaying to Horne the sum which the latter had paid to Christian, in consideration of which Horne agreed to relinquish his claims to the land.⁸ A portion of this money Peele received back from the estate. He says he means to have the rest; but whether or not he did so does not appear.

These entries are in themselves of no special relevance or interest; but it happens that some of them and in particular the two depositions made by Peele furnish us with certain facts regarding his life.

It appears, for example, that he had married Anna Christian at some time between March 1, 1579/80, the date of Christian's will, in which she is not referred to as married, and October 18, 1580, when he first appears in the suit. At this time Anna was seventeen years of age⁹ and Peele twenty-two. The

¹ The terms of the agreement are set out in an undated deposition made by Coles during the month of October or November, 1580.

² His will was made on March 1, 1579/80, and was probated on April 2, 1580. There is a copy at Somerset House (*Oxford Wills and Admons.* [1st ser.], IX [for 1578-88], 126b, 127a). Christian directs in his will that he is to be buried in All Saints' Church, Oxford; but there is no entry in the parish register recording his burial.

³ Deposition of John Yate, October 27, 1580.

⁴ This seems a fair inference from the fact that she is the only child mentioned in Christian's will, and since he left the residue of his estate to her and his wife in equal shares.

⁵ Peele is first mentioned in connection with the matter in a deposition made by Horne on October 18, 1580.

⁶ The details of this second agreement are set out in the depositions made by Horne on February 6, 1581/2 and July 24, 1584. It appears also from the deposition made by Horne on October 18, 1580, that some matters had been in dispute between Peele and the Yates from the first; and Peele says himself in his deposition of July 24, 1584, that he had transferred some of Christian's lands to Yate "for quietnes sake." See below.

⁷ As appears from Peele's two depositions of March 29, 1583, and July 24, 1584. See below.

⁸ Depositions of Horne and Peele, July 24, 1584.

⁹ She was christened on March 25, 1563. See *Oxford City Parish Reg.* (Bodleian MS, top. Oxon. c. 172), "Reg. All Saints, Oxford," p. 34, s.a. 1563: "Anna Cooke filia Hugonis Cooke alias Christiana."

actual registration of the marriage, however, still eludes research.¹ Concerning her nothing further is known. Of the marriage there were two children at least, since Peele refers to the bearer of his letter to Burghley in 1596 as his "eldest daughter."

It appears also from the records that during these years Peele had already found himself in financial difficulties. His name occurs, for example, in the "Cautiones" for Michaelmas term, 1580:

20 Octobris 1580 Georgius Peele artium magister obligat se domino vicecancellario ad vsum Iacobi Willis Ciuitatis Oxoniensis mercer in viij¹¹ to pay to the said Iames iij¹¹ within eight dayes next folowing the date hereof, or els then to yeld his bodye to priton accessit huic obligacioni Mr. Rixman collegii Sancti Iohannis tanquam fideiussor in summa predicta ad effectum quo supra. This bonde is sattisfied and discharged and the money receaued by me.

By me IAMES WILLIS.²

Mention is also made as early as March 15, 1581/2 of a bond for thirty shillings which Peele had given to one Thomas Tatam and one James Sampson.³ This bond was still unsatisfied on May 6, 1583.⁴

The first of the two depositions referred to was made on March 29, 1583. It reads:

Testis inductus ex parte Iohannis Yate super positionibus exhibitis iuratus in perpetuum rei memoriam examinatus xxix^o Martij 1583.⁵

Georgius Peele Ciuitatis Londonensis generosus vbi moram traxit fere per duos annos et antea in vniuersitate Oxoniense per nouem annos etatis xxv. annorum testis etc.

Ad 1.^{um} dicit esse verum. for so the Executor of Hugh Christian hath confessed to this deponent.

Ad 2.^{um} dicit, that he thinketh it to be trewe for Horne hath tolde this deponent so.

Ad 3.^{um} dicit esse verum for that the land descended to this deponent in the Right of his wife. And that the said Horne hath sayed to this deponent that he might make his choise whether he wold lay the band vpon the Executor or the heyre of the Land being this deponents wife. Et aliter non potest deponere vt dicit.

Ad 4.^{um} dicit that to thende Horne myght be satisfied his three score poundes, did accepte it of Horne in the bargayne that was betwixte them of purpose to haue it awnswared agayne of the Executor of the said Hugh in the gooddes in the Inuentorie, and therfor did then make reckening that the executrix did owe to this deponent lx.¹¹ And to this order he did growe at the request of the Executrix et aliter non potest deponere vt dicit.

¹ There is no entry in the Register of All Saints' Church, Oxford, which was the Christian's family church. She is first referred to in the records as Peele's wife on March 16, 1581/2 (*Acta cur. canc.*, C [1578-82]).

² *Ibid.*

³ Deposition of Thomas Gryme, March 15, 1581/2. Tatam was a member of Merton College. See *Reg. Oxon.*, II, ii (1887), 20, and II, iii (1888), 33. The only James Sampson mentioned in the Oxford registers was a citizen of Oxford. *Op. cit.*, i (1887), 209 and 302.

⁴ Deposition of Thomas Tatam, May 6, 1583.

Ad 5.^{um} dicit, that he hath receaued parte of the lx.ⁱⁱ vppon a reckeningg, and doth intend to receaue the rest.

GEO: PEELE.¹

From this document we are apparently justified in deducing that Peele was born in 1558, since he describes himself as twenty-five years old;² that in 1583 he had been living in London for nearly two years, that is, from 1581 to 1583; and that he had previously resided at Oxford nine years, that is, from 1572 to 1581.³ It is noteworthy that these dates correspond almost exactly with those given in the courtbook of Christ's Hospital and with those given in the registers of Oxford University.

The second deposition was made on July 24, 1584. It has never been printed. It reads:

Georgius [written over "Rogerus"] Pele artium magister Vniuersitatis Oxoniensis aetatis circiter xxx. annorum testis iuratus et examinatus 24. Iulij 1584 deponit vt sequitur.

Ad 1.^{um} non potest deponere vt dicit.

Ad 2.^{um} dicit, that vppon consideracion of lx.ⁱⁱ which Roger Horne did pay to Hugh Christian vppon bargayn and sale of land: this deponent did satisfie the said Horne the said lx.ⁱⁱ with entent and purpose to be awnspered it agayne of the Executors of Hugh Christian And doth beleue in his conscience, that that lx.ⁱⁱ was a trewe dett to Roger Horne, by reason that an estate of the land was not executed in the Life tyme of the said Hugh. Et aliter non potest deponere vt dicit.

Ad 3.^{um} dicit esse verum for this deponent hath satisfied him.

Ad 4.^{um} dicit esse verum.

AD INTERROGATORIA

Ad 1. dicit, that the Inuentarie came to an hundred and iiij.ⁱⁱ Et aliter non potest deponere.

Ad 2. 3. dicit, that there was an agrement betwene them and that this deponent for quietnes sake did passe vnto Iohn Yate the Inheritaunce of certayne lande that was Hugh Christians to the valewe of a hundred markes.

Ad 4.^{um} non potest deponere vt dicit.

Ad 5.^{um} he hath hard that he did offer a Quietus est from the Archdeacon Et aliter non potest deponere vt dicit.

GEO: PEELE.⁴

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¹ Bodleian MSS, Univ. Oxon. Arch.: *Depositiones*, No. 2 (1578-84). This deposition was communicated by Bliss to Dyce, who first printed it (*Peele* [1861], p. 324). The Dyce transcript is both inaccurate and incomplete. The transcript in the text has been made from the manuscript itself.

² In the deposition of July 24, 1584 (see below), Peele is described as "circiter xxx. annorum." But the earlier deposition, since it is more circumstantial in the number and the definiteness of the particulars given, seems the more reliable of the two.

³ In fact, however, he had gone to Oxford in 1571.

⁴ Bodleian MSS, Univ. Oxon. Arch.: *Depositiones*, No. 2 (1578-84).

ANTI-CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA IN ELIZABETHAN LONDON

The years between 1585 and 1590 are known to have been particularly marked in London by the violence of popular feeling against the Roman church and Spain, and by the activity of the Queen's agents against plots fomented by these two powers. The assassination of the Prince of Orange shortly before Parry's conspiracy against Elizabeth, the siege of Antwerp, the excitement over the Jesuits plotting in France and those caught in England and suspected of "desperate enterprize [March 20, 1586] upon her Majesty's person," the "horrible and detestable" Babington conspiracy of 1586, all served to inflame the English public against the Catholic powers and led to the execution of numerous suspects. As yet we have no complete knowledge of these plots and counterplots nor of the agents nor of the means involved in bringing them to light—perhaps we never shall have; but enough has been recorded to show us that the government had many spies and many means of inflaming public opinion against the Queen's enemies. Among these methods of cultivating patriotism, topical themes on the stage were used for propaganda and for violent satire.

Since few records of these performances have survived, I present here a curious document giving a heated contemporary account of one such play, as it was described by a Catholic writer. It is a tiny four-page pamphlet, which I came upon by chance some time ago while searching for records of sixteenth-century Italian actors in the Mantuan state archives.¹

COPIA

DE UNA LETTERA

VENUTA NOVAMENTE

DALLA FORTEZZA DI CALES NELLA MAGN.

Città di Venetia nella quale si

legge il grande spavent—

oso successo auuenuto ne Lōdra,
Città principale d'Inghilterra, Alli 24 d'Ap. 1586.
Ove s'intēde, che in essa Città si recitaua u—
na comedia in dispregio della S. Fede
iui spauenteuolmente apparsero
molti diauoli dell' inferno
& via se ne riportono i Recitanti,
Con la morte de molti & altre cose notabili,
& maravigliose da sapere.

IN MILANO

Appresso GIO. BATTISTA COLONIA, 1586.

Con licenza de' SUPERIORI.

Al Molto

Magnifico et sig.

mio sempre osseruau.

Il SIGNOR GIOSEPPE ROSACCIO

In Venetia.

¹ Archivio di Stato (Mantua), E XII, No. 2, 1586.

Sapendo io Sig. Mio Osser. Quanto V. S. sia vago d'udir sempre cose noue, & massime i successi di qualche consideratione, che ne paesi stranieri occorrono alla giornata, mi e parso hor cōueneuole cō questa mia auisarla di un marauiglioso & veramente stupendiss. caso, hor nouellamente auuenuto ne Londra Città principale dell'Isola d'Inghilterra, si cōe in questi giorni quiui nella fortezza di Cales confino della Franza e stato referto per cosa certissima da persone degne di fede in quei paesi, li quali fuggiti per le crudeli persecutioni della Regina di quel loco uenuti in queste parti. Sapia dunque V. S. che nella sopra nominata Città di Londra, come molti sano, si fa particular professione di recitar comedie con tutta quella eccelenza, ornamenti, & spesa che sia possibile, però in questi passati giorni uno de principali Signori di essa Città determino con marauiglioso superbo apparachio fare recitare in una gran Sala del suo palazzo uno di dette comedie, così essendo gia ogni cosa in ponto, & publicato il giorno, che s'hauea da fare, concorsegli molti de piu ricchi & nobili della Città & alli 24 d'Aprile essa comedia si recitò nella qual fra molti apparenti intramedij, che la douea intrauenire, in uno fu concertato, per dispregio di nostra santa Fede, che un prete vestito da Magnifico, & un chierico vestito da Zani Sacerdo, talmente apparati douessero sopra un altare celebrare la mesa, & peruenuti alla elleuatione dell'Ostia, deuesse comparire un vestito da Diauolo, & con molto furore rapir detta Ostia dalle mani del Prete, onde così come s'era ordinato così si fece, peruenutisi adunque a detta eleuatione ecco furiosamente il finto Diauolo comparire ma non così tosto ei pose le mani à l'Ostia per farne stratio, che molti veri, & horrendi Diauoli dell'oscure & profonde caue dell'inferno usciti quiui visibilmente si videro per l'aere caliginoso venire, & con molta furia, urlì, & spauento via sene portorono il Magnifico vestito da prete, il chierico il finto Diauolo, & altri principali, & recitanti di detta comedia. Se tal horido spettacolo porse grandissimo spauento, & terrore a circostanti, pensilo ciascuno. Però che come si riferisce tante fiamme, foco, fumo, puzzone, & strepito in quel ponto iui comparse, che per gran tema & spauento uscito ognuno fuor di se, chi si diè a fuggire; chi si precipito giu dalle finestre, chi cercò di nascondersi in lochi così caui oscuri, che mai piu si videro, chi fra loro stessi colmi d'ira, & di rabbia s'ammazzorno, di modo tale, che di essi quasi nessuno campo. Si che Signor mio questo è veramente stato a giorni nostri un successo molto marauiglioso, & non mai piu udito, il che ha apportato in quei lochi non picciola contritione alli cuori peruersi & ostinati contro alla nostra vera, & Santissima fede Christiana. Ma la sòdetta Regina come nemica capitalissima de Catollici, accioche bene il tutto V. S. intenda, piu peruersa, empia & crudel che mai qual nuouo Faraone ostinata, fece subito mādare un strenuissimo bando, che sotto durissime pene nessuno hauesse ardire per tutto il suo regno di tal successo fauellare. Laonde molti di quei paesi lasciando li propri alberghi, & le lor facultà per gran tema si sono da quella peruersa setta nascotamente fuggiti per rjdursi a penitenza de loro passati errori, & drizzare tutti i suoi pensieri alla sicura, & vera strada del Cielo, de i quali, come le detto quei ce ne sono molti. Mi e parso dar a V. S. questo notabile auiso prima per la vera affettione & molti obblighi, che tengo con lei & poi perche esso marauiglioso successo sia chiaro, & noto a tutto il mondo, accio che ogni huomo ciò udendo, stabilisca nel suo core una pura viuua, & ferma fede, per le buone & sante operationi tutti potiano al fine sciolti da ogni terreno, & grauosio incarco, salire a quella celeste, & perpetua gloria che il grande Iddio per sua infinita bontà & misericordia fa veramente promesso a suoi beati, & Santi eletti,

che fara il fine di questa, col questa col quale [*sic*] di core raccomandomele, le prego chi cōtinuo da sua diuina Maestà ogni salute & contento. Di Cales il di 3 di Maggio. 1586.

Di V. S. M. M.

Obligatiss. Ser.

PAULO LARDI.

Is this a record merely of an anonymous bit of anti-Catholic propaganda in dramatic form, or is it an account of a more important piece by one of the clever young men employed in the government public-information service? We know that such young men were so employed and that among them, in 1587 and later, was the most brilliant of the university wits, Christopher Marlowe.

It is just possible that the event Lardi describes is to be associated with the early performance of *Dr. Faustus*, alluded to by Prynne in a well-known paragraph of *Histriomastix* (1633)¹ illustrating the way "stage players" draw down "God's fearefull judgments both upon their Composers, Actors, Spectators, and those Republikes that tolerate or approve of them"; he cites many a frightful happening in the theaters of his time, and in particular "the visible apparition of the Devill on the stage at the Belsavage Play-house in Queene Elizabeth's days . . . whiles they were there prophanelly playing the History of Faustus (the truth of which I have heard from many now alive, who well remember it) there being some distracted with that fearfull sight."

Sir E. K. Chambers quotes this passage² among several illustrating what he calls "a curious *mythos*" about *Faustus*, "used to point a moral against the stage." He gives as the first expression of the *mythos*, the following passage in "T. M." 's *Black Book* (1604):³ "Hee had a head of hayre like one of my Diuells in *Dr. Faustus* when the old theater crackt and frighted the audience." This allusion, like the one in Prynne, is possibly pertinent to the event described in Lardi's letter.

I am quite aware that if Prynne is exact the scene of the performance in which the "diuell" appeared in person among the actors, was not a nobleman's private hall but the Belsavage Inn on Ludgate Hill, much in demand by players in the eighties and frequented by "the Earl of Nottingham, his servants," later the Lord Admiral's Men, known to be the first performers of *Faustus*.⁴ Yet such an inexactitude is quite understandable in a story which has passed from mouth to mouth several times.

¹ Fol. 556.

² *The Elizabethan Stage*, III, 423-24.

³ See *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, ed. A. H. Bullen, VIII, 13.

⁴ J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses* (1917), pp. 7 f., gives in neat summary the important details about the Belsavage. A former student of mine, Miss Marian Born, has found a large number of entries relating to the Belsavage in the Hustings Rolls in London, references to which are listed in her unpublished thesis for the Master's degree, *London Taverns in the Days of Elizabeth and James I*, in the Vassar College Library. Some of these might repay closer investigation.

It is also obvious that the description in Lardi's letter of the burlesque mass does not precisely fit any passage of *Faustus* as we now know the play. Yet such a scene is not at all improbable as part of the satire directed against the pope, cardinal, and friars in the earliest text. Faust, when Mephisto first appears, orders him to change his "too ugly" form to that of "an old Franciscan Friar,/That holy shape becomes a diuel best";¹ and scattered through the play there are numerous other jibes at the older faith, culminating in the comic dirge, "cursed be hee," etc. (ll. 893 ff.).

It is at least possible that this scene, in which Faust and Mephisto beat and drive off the friars with blows and fireworks, was the same at which the theater "crackt and frighted the audience" and that what with "flames, fire, smoke, stench and noise," the miserable spectators were driven by their fears to imagine all hell let loose and the devil himself among them. Certainly a devout Catholic like Lardi would interpret such a terror just as Philip Stubbs does—an accident in the theater becoming "a friendly warning" from Providence to the misguided haunTERS of irreverent stage plays.

The vexed question of the probable date of Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* has for years been thoroughly discussed from every conceivable English and German point of view. Mr. Tucker Brooke's acceptance of the play as "the immediate successor of *Tamburlaine* in the series of Marlowe's works . . . by the testimony of metre and of dramatic structure" and his conclusion that the winter of 1588–89 may "with tolerable certainty be accepted . . . as the date of the play's completion" have met in recent years with general approval.² Professor Flasdieck, of Jena, however, in the latest discussion of the problem,³ draws attention to the possibility of an earlier date, hitherto overlooked and now made plausible by some of the just-discovered facts of Marlowe's life. He suggests that the well-recognized inequality of style in the tragedy may be evidence that the play was composed during the poet's student years at Cambridge, and stresses as further proof the distinctly academic nature of the philosophical monologues and disputations of the hero. His tentative supposition is that the piece was taken in hand by Marlowe not far from July, 1587, when he left the university, and that it, like *Tamburlaine*, may well have contained much topical material directed against Spain and Catholicism by Marlowe, one of a group of Elizabeth's "helpers" in organizing war propaganda.

Without going into the familiar difficulties in dating Marlowe's play before 1588 because of the relation of the printed versions to their source, I will merely allude to the full summary of these difficulties by Mr. Tucker Brooke and by Professor Flasdieck, and add that it seems to me perfectly permissible to suppose Marlowe may have read a version of the *Faustbuch* earlier than that

¹ *Dr. Faustus*, ed. Tucker Brooke (Oxford, 1910), ll. 258 ff.

² Introduction to his edition of *Doctor Faustus*, in *Works of Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford, 1910), p. 139.

³ H. M. Flasdieck, "Zur Datierung von Marlowe's *Faust*," *Englische Studien*, LXIV (1929), 320–51.

of 1587, or, more probably, that he may, if traveling as government agent, have seen an acted version of the story on the Continent or have heard it reported by someone who had seen it.

We know nothing, unfortunately, of the first state of the play or of its closeness to the German form of the legend. Such attempted reconstructions of it as that by Mr. Percy Simpson,¹ however interesting, are entirely conjectural. It is surely as allowable to conjecture that in its first form it may have been far more comic and definitely satiric than the 1604 text allows us to guess; certainly if it belonged to the pre-Armada period of the English war with Spain—a period marked by much anti-Catholic hysteria—it would have contained more topical satire than survives in the later printed versions.

Whether or not it is to the first form of *Faustus* that Lardi alludes, he shows full consciousness of the excited feeling with which a contemporary London audience would witness plays satirizing the mass, and perhaps also a knowledge of the "inhibitions" closing the theaters in May, 1586, an ordinance actually caused by fear of plague but interpreted by him as a *strenuissimo bando* directed by her perverse and impious majesty against all who would dare to talk of the fearsome event he chronicles. Whatever the source of his information and whatever his subject, his vivid letter throws a beam of light on one heated moment of the long sixteenth-century warfare between England and the Catholic power.

VASSAR COLLEGE

WINIFRED SMITH

THE TEXT OF GOLDSMITH'S *MEMOIRS OF M. DE VOLTAIRE*

Although it is clear that when Goldsmith composed the *Memoirs of M. de Voltaire* at the close of 1758 it was with a view to publication as a book,² the only contemporary text of the work we now have is that which appeared as a serial in the *Lady's Magazine* between February and November, 1761.³ Here it lay buried, unknown to all of the early editors except perhaps Percy,⁴ until 1837, when Sir James Prior called attention to its existence in his *Life of Oliver Goldsmith*⁵ and reprinted it, along with various other additions to the canon, in his collection of the *Miscellaneous Works*.⁶

In spite of the fact that the deficiencies of Prior's scholarship have been generally recognized, the value of his text of the *Memoirs* has never, so far as

¹ *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, VII (1921), 143-55.

² See *The Collected Letters of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. K. C. Balderston (Cambridge, 1928), p. 63, and Prior, *Life of Oliver Goldsmith* (London, 1837), I, 304-5.

³ II, 289-94, 337-42, 383-89, 431-35, 479-84; III, 1-5, 49-53, 97-102, 145-50, 193-99. Three translations included in this text of the *Memoirs*—two from Voltaire and one from Frederick of Prussia—had been printed, probably by Goldsmith himself, in the *Public Ledger* for August 27 and November 12, 1760. See Crane, *New Essays by Oliver Goldsmith* (Chicago, 1927), p. 136.

⁴ See "The Life of Dr. Oliver Goldsmith," p. 58 n., in *The Miscellaneous Works of Oliver Goldsmith* (London, 1801), Vol. I.

⁵ I, 304-5. Cf. also I, 181-83, 288, 365.

⁶ III, 201-48.

I know, been called in question. When Cunningham published his edition in 1854 he contented himself with sending to the printer a copy of Prior's third volume.¹ Masson did the same—or perhaps followed Cunningham—for the Globe edition of 1869, and Gibbs in 1885, although he was on the whole more scrupulous about such matters than any of his predecessors, was likewise satisfied to forego verification and to reproduce Prior's reprint.²

Yet it would be difficult to find a modern text of an eighteenth-century classic that is more unblushingly faithless to its original than this.

Whoever was responsible for its preparation—whether Prior himself or, as Cunningham thought, a publisher's hack named J. Wright³—clearly thought it part of his task to improve on what he found in the *Lady's Magazine*. If, in his careless way, Goldsmith wrote that "Francois Marie Arouet de Voltaire, of whom we are speaking, was born at Paris, the nineteenth of April 1695,"⁴ this must be altered to "François Marie Arouet de Voltaire was born at Châtenay, near Paris, the 20th of February 1694."⁵ So with the name of Voltaire's father: Goldsmith's "Jean" must be changed to "François."⁶ So too with the date of the visit to England: "1720" must give place to "1726."⁷ All this was venial enough; no one, at least in 1837, would have denied the editor of a literary work the pleasure of correcting slips such as these. But Prior's—or Wright's—censorship did not stop here. The style of Goldsmith in the *Memoirs*, for all its "elegance and vivacity,"⁸ was frequently, alas, careless in choice of words, awkward in transitions, grammatically incorrect. He could write "As young Voltaire's father was, therefore, in easy circumstances, he was resolved to give his son the best education in his power,"⁹ when obviously a neater phrase would be "Being therefore in easy circumstances, he was resolved. . . ."¹⁰ He could say that "Mademoiselle G——n was extremely pretty, and though but low, finely shaped,"¹¹ when clearly he should have written "low in stature."¹² He could say "His Œdipus was wrote in this dry manner"¹³ when the grammar of 1837 called for "was written."¹⁴ He could speak of "that paternal affection a king owed his people,"¹⁵ when he should have said "which a king owed his people."¹⁶ The elegant Goldsmith

¹ *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith* (London, 1854), IV, 3–34.

² *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith* (London, 1885), IV, 3–46. See his prefatory note to the *Memoirs*, IV, 2.

³ See *Works* (London, 1854), I, v, and III, 138.

⁴ *Lady's Magazine*, II, 289. I have used the British Museum copy—the only one known to me.

⁵ Prior, III, 202.

⁶ *Lady's Magazine*, II, 289; Prior, III, 202.

⁷ *Lady's Magazine*, II, 479; Prior, III, 224. But cf. Prior, *Life of Oliver Goldsmith*, I, 181, where in quoting this passage he gives the date as 1720.

⁸ Prior, *Life*, I, 304.

⁹ *Lady's Magazine*, II, 484.

¹⁰ *Lady's Magazine*, II, 290.

¹¹ Prior, III, 229.

¹² Prior, III, 202.

¹³ *Lady's Magazine*, III, 146.

¹⁴ *Lady's Magazine*, II, 292.

¹⁵ Prior, III, 241.

¹⁶ Prior, III, 205.

must not be allowed to write like this. Nor must he be allowed—the year, we must not forget, was 1837—to sin in still another way. Was it not one of his merits that he taught “the purest morality in the most engaging manner”?¹ Prior—or Wright—had a high sense of his duty to Goldsmith’s reputation and to the public which was to buy the new edition of the *Miscellaneous Works*, and though there was not much in the *Memoirs* that could offend even the most delicate, what little there was did not escape his watchful eye. His vigilance is sufficiently evident in such alterations as these:

“LADY’S MAGAZINE”

PRIOR

In her apartment he generally spent the morning among the learned of Paris . . . [II, 432].

At her house he generally spent the mornings, among the learned of Paris . . . [III, 219].

There is a principle of vanity in the sex which gives them pleasure at the acquisition of a new lover, though they have no intentions to gratify his desire [II, 432].

There is a principle of vanity in the sex, which gives them pleasure at the acquisition of a new lover, though they have no intention to accept him [III, 220].

His hours of dissipation were generally spent among our poets . . . [II, 484].

His leisure hours were generally spent in the company of our poets . . . [III, 230].

. . . This dislike he was fool enough to publish in a short satire, in which the king is represented as losing the complaints of the kingdom on her bosom, and preferring the allurements of a strumpet to the voice of virtue and fame [III, 193].

This dislike he was imprudent enough to publish in a short satire, in which the king is represented as losing the complaints of the kingdom in her society, and preferring the allurements of a mistress to the voice of virtue and fame [III, 241–42].

His friend, mistress, and pupil M. de Chatelet died . . . [III, 194].

In 1749, his friend and pupil, Madame Du Chatelet, died . . . [III, 242].

But the liberties which Prior took with his original went much farther than this. He had dropped a hint of his intended procedure in the *Life*, though in somewhat misleading terms:

Considered as an exercise, though a slight one, of his pen, it [the *Memoirs*] will interest the literary inquirer; and as it is not likely to be published at length and indeed is not to be found, such passages as admit of being detached from the narrative will find admission in another place.²

When this was written his plan was evidently to give only a series of selections from the non-narrative parts of the *Memoirs*. No wonder the warning escaped even so generally careful an editor as Gibbs, for what actually appeared in Prior’s edition was not a series of selections at all, but a continuous text,

¹Prior, *Life*, II, 559.

²I, 304–5.

mainly narrative, with no signs of omission except at the end. It was, however, far from complete.

There were frequent excisions of sentences or clauses. For example:

"LADY'S MAGAZINE"

PRIOR

Madame Du Chatelet, whose name I have already mentioned, was principally of this number [II, 432].

Madame Du Chatelet was of this number [III, 219].

. . . . There is scarcely a subsequent publication of his which does not make mention of the falsehood, or the ingratitude of his enemies. They now fought him at a disadvantage, they felt not his blows for they did not value reputation, while their wounds stabb'd him to the heart for he had a character to lose. The fame he had acquired for the tragedy of *Alzira* [III, 101-2].

[Omits the second sentence (III, 239).]

It was resolved to send him a private hint, that it would be pleasing if he thought proper, to quit the kingdom, and cardinal Fleury undertook to deliver the message. The cardinal, who was a good-natured honest man, only intended to procure both, that tranquillity by separation which he knew they could never enjoy in the same kingdom. He accordingly acquainted Voltaire of the king's pleasure [III, 193-94].

It was resolved to send him a private hint, that it would be satisfactory if he would quit the kingdom. Cardinal Fleury accordingly acquainted Voltaire with the king's pleasure [III, 242].

. . . . in those hours of vacant hilarity he always threw by the king, and conversed as a friend, and was often himself most successful in raising conversation into good humour. The persons [III, 195].

In those hours of vacant hilarity he always threw aside the king. The persons [III, 243-44].

More important still, several fairly long passages disappeared without leaving a trace. All of these fell within the last four instalments of the *Memoirs* as printed in the *Lady's Magazine*, and their omission was doubtless prompted either by the weariness of the transcriber or by a belated desire to economize space.

The first of them had to do with the beginning of Voltaire's friendship with Frederick of Prussia.¹ Frederick, wrote Goldsmith, "had already several

¹ *Lady's Magazine*, III, 50-53, 97-100 (August and September, 1761).

learned men with him in his retreat, but they were rather philosophers than poets: he wanted a companion who could unite both the characters, who had solidity to instruct when he designed to be serious and vivacity to unbend his mind when fatigued with study. Voltaire seemed to him adapted to both those purposes; he therefore resolved to give him an invitation to Prussia, which would at least, serve to commence a correspondence with a man by whose instructions or wit he must either be diverted or improved." Then came a letter from "The prince of Prussia to Mr. VOLTAIRE," followed by Voltaire's reply declining the invitation, after which Goldsmith went on as follows:

The friend here mentioned [at the end of Voltaire's letter] was M. la marquise du Chatelet, his dearest Emilia, as he often called her. Her he regarded as his most valuable possession, preferred her company even to that of kings. He gave strength to her sentiments, and she added grace to his. There is perhaps no society more proper to form a poet than that of woman, for ease and elegance of expression are better learned among them from *[sic]* the rhetorical chair.¹

All of this after "invitation to Prussia," Prior silently left out.²

The next considerable omission, which also involved a letter from Frederick, came a few paragraphs later, at the end of a passage on the composition of Voltaire's *Essai sur les Mœurs*. "This work," Goldsmith added, "he sent to the king of Prussia, who thus compliments him in a letter on the occasion."³ Neither this sentence nor the letter which followed⁴ was given by Prior.⁵

He had now come close to the end of the text in the *Lady's Magazine*, and his excisions became increasingly drastic. From the end of the October number he omitted a long anecdotal passage dealing with the enemies of Voltaire at the French court:

Among this number was Mr. ——— first commissioner of the customs, who owed him an old grudge. This gentleman had endeavoured to lay a tax upon printing, and to oblige every author to put his name to his own performance. Voltaire, who saw how much such a law, if it should take place, would obstruct the progress of literature, wrote against him with judgment and success. Part of his letter on this occasion, is as follows:

[An extract from the letter is given here.]

It has always been one of the most shining parts of Voltaire's character to have defended his profession against the encroachments of power or the contempt of ignorance. Whenever the ministry were resolved upon taxing the press, in other words, laying an embargo upon the little wit of the age, he was foremost in its defence; whenever wrangling wits, by the opposition of their satire, brought poetry as well as themselves into disesteem, he served as moderator between them; nay, sometimes has defended the cause of genius against both; as either seemed regardless of the honours due to his profession. His reply to the commissary had the intended effect, it warded off the threatned *[sic]* blow from the republic of letters, but then it fell with violence upon Voltaire himself: the com-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

² Cf. *Miscellaneous Works*, III, 238.

³ *Lady's Magazine*, III, 102 (September).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-46 (October).

⁵ Cf. *Miscellaneous Works*, III, 240.

missary professed himself from this time his avowed enemy, to which resentment our poet opposed nothing but the rectitude of his intentions.

But he had still another enemy at court, as undeservedly so as the former. The story is as follows. In the year 1734, he happened to be present when the D. of Berwick besieged Philipsbourg. As he was a favourite of the general's, he lived with the head officers in the utmost intimacy, his wit enlivened them in the intervals of war, and as he did not dispute their courage so they were content to allow him the lead in every conversation. Wits have ever been remarkable for cowardice, and the French officers had an inclination to try whether Voltaire was in every respect respondent to that character. Men frequently take a pleasure in finding out the foibles of the great, and exposing those parts of a superior character which sink beneath their own. They had frequently exhorted him to the trenches, and now and then jestingly insisted upon his going upon an assault; but our poet cautiously refused their kind intentions, informing them that fighting was not his trade, and when they had earned the victory he would immortalize it with a song. It was resolved however, that the facetious creature should feel what it was to be in danger; and accordingly one morning he was roused out of bed by a file of musqueteers at his door, who had orders to conduct him to the general's tent. He never liked a file of musqueteers since he had been conducted to the Bastille; and now felt much uneasiness upon hearing the fellows mutter that he was arrested as a spy. His apprehensions were encreased upon meeting none of his friends in his way to the general; but they were turned into fright, when upon entering the tent he perceived his intimate acquaintances whom he had made happy the preceding night by his conversation, regard him with the utmost degree of coolness mixed with pity. He asked, entreated, to know what business the general had with him; but all present shook their heads without deigning to answer. Thus he stood fretting in a circle of dismal faces, himself the most dismal figure among them; at last however the general, who had been a spectator of his distress from behind the canvas, made his appearance, and politely told Mr. Voltaire and the rest of the company that dinner was ready; and addressing himself to our poet in particular, assured him that the capons were excellent. And truly so they ought, replied the bard, for I never bought a dinner so dear in my life. He bore this jest with the utmost good humour, and as he thought himself very well entitled to repartee, wrote a short poem on the siege of Philipsbourg. He begins with all the pomp and solemnity of diction; describes his heroes as attacking the enemy amidst the thunder of cannon, and scaling the walls though opposed by thousands. For this, my brave sons of Mars, concludes he, your country regards you as her greatest glory; for this your wives and mistresses at home are ready to crown you with laurels, and with horns. Who would have thought a trifling [*sic*] piece of humour like this could have raised him a serious enemy? Who could have imagined that general satire like this could find a particular application? however it was resented; for unfortunately it happened to be true. No satire strikes deeper than humour when particularly applied; gravity in rebuke looks like resentment; humour wears the appearance of contempt. In short one of the generals never forgave him, and he was one of those who were active in influencing the government in his prejudice.¹

¹ *Lady's Magazine*, III, 147-50. Cf. Prior, III, 241. The omitted passage immediately follows the paragraph ending "others pretended to regard him as a dangerous member of the state."

From the last instalment of the *Memoirs* he omitted two passages of a similar kind. The first formed part of a paragraph on Frederick's treatment of his courtiers. "He knew," wrote Goldsmith, "that the desires of a courtier are an abyss that can never be filled up; and therefore, instead of lucrative rewards, he recompensed their adherence to his person by Honours." Then came three sentences of amplification and illustration no trace of which remained in Prior:

The truth is, the treasures left him by his father were designed for a very different purpose than that of gratifying their rapacity, there were about an hundred thousand favourites which were to be disciplined and sustained from the royal coffers. One of his courtiers one day in an excursion to the country, took an opportunity as they were observing the beauties of a little chappel, to go up into the pulpit, and lecture the king upon his ingratitude. The king heard him out very patiently, and when he had done, entreated him to accept of the incumbency of the chappel, for no man more deserved encouragement there than he, and he knew no place to which his talents were better suited.¹

The other passage, a much longer one, occupied the last page and a half of the final instalment. Goldsmith, after describing the state of affairs at the court of Berlin when Voltaire joined the group of philosophers surrounding Frederick, turned at length to speak of his friendship with the king, illustrating the relations which existed between the two men by the incident of Cardinal Fleury's letter of praise for Frederick's *Anti-Machiavel*. "This letter," he added, "Voltaire communicated to Frederick, and it was, perhaps, one cause of the alliance which soon succeeded between the Courts of France and Prussia. The greatest events often rise from the slightest causes." This, Prior evidently thought, was the place to stop, and so with four asterisks and a note informing the reader that "with Voltaire's residence at the Court of Berlin, this memoir breaks off," he brought his transcription to a close.²

But Goldsmith had still one more anecdote to tell:

The greatest events often rise from the slightest causes. But tho' redressing grievances, reforming states, settling the ballance of power, making treaties, and writing histories, were the serious employments of the court of Berlin, yet the innocent pleasures of retirement, where wisdom throws aside its severity, and the mind condescends to be pleased, even in opposition to the judgment, such harmless amusements I say, had their turn. The king, would now and then give into the most trifling sallies of gaiety, such as playing tricks, not those indeed an harlequin, or an antic, unnaturally exhibit, but such as tend to discover the human mind, and give new inlets into nature. He loved to excite a ridiculous distress in any of his courtiers, and enjoyed their uneasiness with great satisfaction. The reader will excuse me if I mention one which was told at Berlin when I was there. The court was to go into mourning upon the death of some prince, whose name I forget; but as it was for one night only, Voltaire did not care to be at the expence of a new suit of black, therefore he had recourse to a friend of his, a wine-merchant in the city, who lent him his coat, which however, as he was a corpulent man, and

¹ *Lady's Magazine*, III, 194-95. Cf. Prior, III, 243.

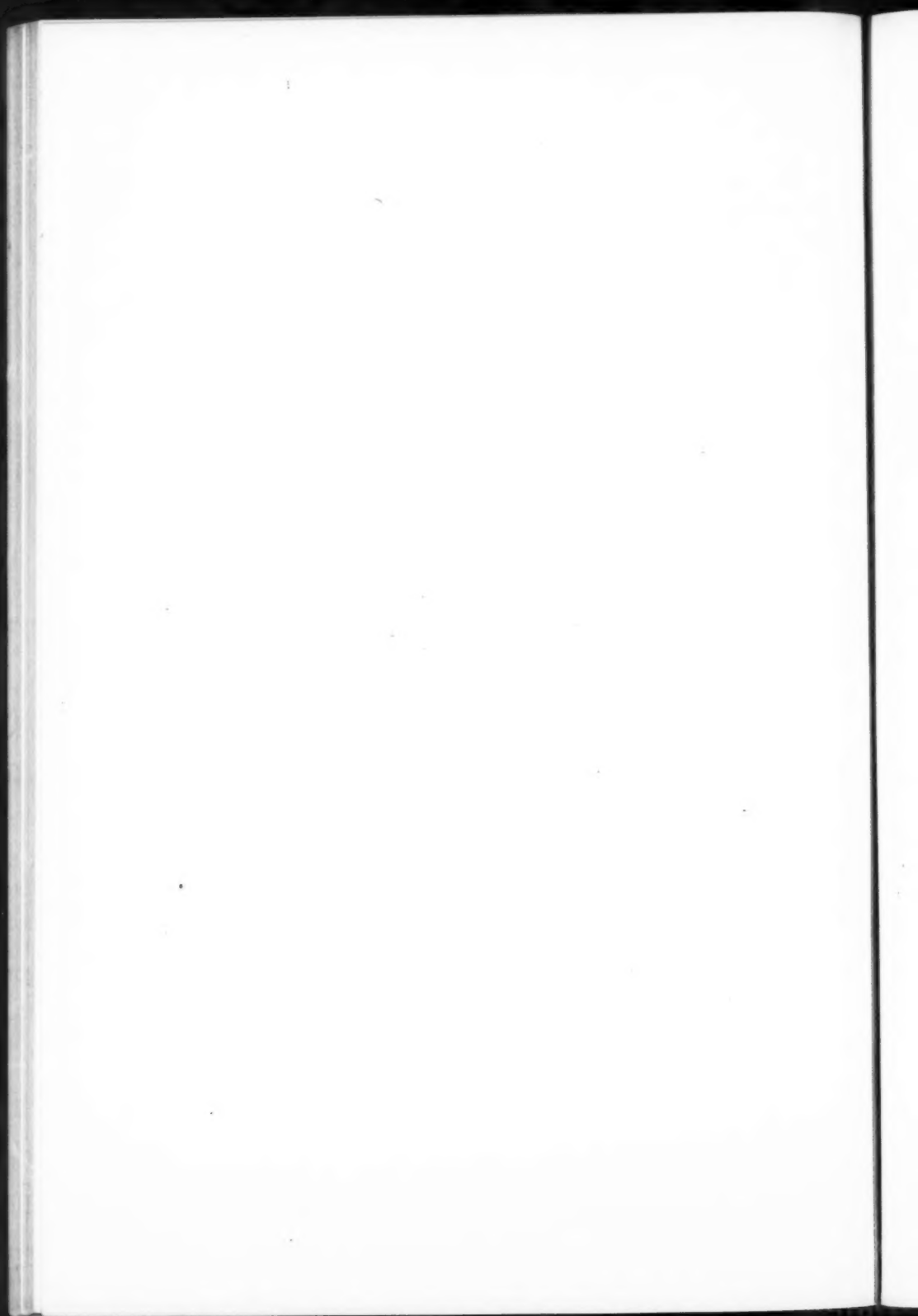
² III, 248.

Voltaire slender to an excess, was by no means fitting. In order to remedy this, when our poet reached his lodgings, he bid his servant carry it to a taylor in order to be taken in at the sides, but the footman or the taylor mistaking the orders, it was so cut as to make it impossible to be let out again. However, our poet figured in it for the night, and very confidently sent it back the next morning, at the same time, informing the king of what had been done. The wine-merchant soon came to inform Voltaire, that it had been altered, so as to make it intirely impossible for him to put it on, and he therefore expected to be paid for it. The poet for some time, regarding him with surprize, insisted that the coat was not cut too little but that he was grown too big for the coat. This answer by no means pleased the merchant, and it was agreed on both sides to refer it to the king. As his majesty had been apprized of what should happen; he was sitting with two of his physicians when the plaintiff and defendant were introduced before him. The wine-merchant was desired to try on the coat before he opened his cause; in this dress he told the whole story, and was heard by his judges with the utmost patience and gravity. When he had concluded, Voltaire begun his defence, insisted that the man had got a dropsy, harrangued upon the prominence of the wine-merchant's belly, and finished by entreating the physicians present, to take the poor man's disorder into consideration, as he was so much a greater object of pity, as he was insensible of his distress. The judges seemed greatly touched with the latter part of the poet's harrangue, and refused to hear the merchant, who was earnest in his endeavours to reply. It was unanimously concluded by all present, that the man was hydropical, and the trocar, the instrument with which he was to be tapped, was instantly brandished in his eyes by one of the physicians, while he was incapable of making a retreat, being pinioned by the tightness of the coat. However, when the king had sufficiently enjoyed his distress, he gave him a purse of ten guineas in order to buy a new suit, and Voltaire was left in peaceable possession of the old. With such domestic amusements as these, the king often relaxed the features of wisdom, and frequently with those he loved, indulged such levities as plodding dunces might be apt to call folly.¹

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¹ *Lady's Magazine*, III, 198-99.



CRITICAL SURVEY OF RECENT SCHOLARSHIP

BAUDELAIRE DEVANT LA CRITIQUE ACTUELLE

Nous assistons depuis une quinzaine d'années à une véritable apothéose de Baudelaire. Aucun poète français n'a encore connu pareil succès de librairie; aucun n'a été adoré avec une aussi fougueuse passion. De France, d'Amérique, d'Angleterre, les ouvrages sur les *Fleurs du Mal* viennent s'amonceler sur la table du critique. Faiseurs de biographies à la mode du jour, amateurs d'anecdotes, poètes, professeurs enfin (combien doivent frémir les ombres de Faguet et de Brunetière!), tous s'acharnent après l'œuvre de Baudelaire,

Comme après un cadavre un chœur de vermineux, et demandent au poète, autrefois maudit, aujourd'hui divinisé, de révéler le secret de son génie.

Dans une production aussi abondante, il convient de faire un choix sévère et de nous demander où en est aujourd'hui, soixante-treize ans après leur apparition, l'étude des *Fleurs du Mal*. Baudelaire offre aux commentateurs l'un des sujets les plus attirants, mais les plus périlleux aussi, que présente l'histoire littéraire. Le contraste entre l'homme, ses faiblesses, son manque apparent de volonté, ses contradictions, et la perfection solide et voulue de l'œuvre n'est point aisément explicable. Parmi les baudelairiens les plus récents, les uns s'attachent presque exclusivement à la biographie de l'homme, et laissent l'œuvre s'expliquer d'elle-même par la vie; les autres, plus ambitieux, négligent de parti-pris les menus incidents biographiques et recherchent dans la méditation des cinq ou six volumes que comprend l'œuvre de Baudelaire les éléments de son originalité.

Les récentes vies de Baudelaire n'ont rien ajouté de nouveau aux diligentes recherches de J. et E. Crépet (1907), qu'avaient reprises à leur tour et utilisées G. de Reynold en 1920 et Ernest Raynaud en 1922. Le livre de M. Alphonse Séché, *La Vie des Fleurs du Mal*, est franchement détestable,¹ superficiel à plaisir, écrit à la diable, sous la forme bizarre de questions et de réponses, qui rappelle un catéchisme pour enfants. L'auteur, qui admire sincèrement Baudelaire, ne réussit guère à faire partager son admiration. La biographie de M. François Porché est au contraire l'œuvre d'un poète et d'un érudit tout à la fois.² M. Porché démêle avec sympathie et pénétration les complexités de la psychologie de Baudelaire; il ne fausse point la physionomie vraie du

¹ Alphonse Séché, *La Vie des Fleurs du Mal* ("Les grands événements littéraires"). Amiens: Malfère, 1928. In-16. Pp. 209.

² F. Porché, *La Vie douloureuse de Charles Baudelaire*. Paris: Plon, 1926. In-16. Pp. iii + 304.

poète par une admiration trop indiscrette; ses informations sont toujours exactes, et il s'abstient modestement de supposer lorsque les indices sont trop rares ou trop fragiles. Le style, que ne gête point la recherche ou le faux brillant, revêt d'une mélancolie attendrie le récit de cette vie douloureuse; son livre retiendra l'intérêt de ceux même à qui il n'apportera aucune révélation.

Baudelaire: Flesh and Spirit, de M. L. P. Shanks,¹ se recommande par des qualités analogues. M. Shanks, qui connaît aussi bien que personne l'œuvre de Baudelaire, puisqu'il en a donné une traduction en vers,² à l'usage des lecteurs américains, retrace ici, à l'usage des mêmes lecteurs, la biographie de Baudelaire. Il explique son auteur par un conflit tragique entre la chair et l'esprit; il insiste avec raison sur cette étrange adoration pour sa mère, qui frappe tout lecteur des émouvantes lettres de Baudelaire à la générale Aupick, et qui pose bien des problèmes de psychologie; enfin, par de très nombreuses citations des *Fleurs du Mal*, qu'il emprunte à sa traduction anglaise, M. Shanks nous fait comprendre comment Baudelaire a utilisé les expériences, parfois banales, souvent misérables, de sa vie, pour les transmuier en œuvres d'art. On a tout dit sur l'impuissance où nous sommes de faire passer dans une langue étrangère ces mystérieuses combinaisons de syllabes qui constituent un beau vers. Il serait trop aisé de montrer que

But the green Eden of our earliest loves,

ou

Mother of Memories, first of mistresses,

sont bien loin de rendre la suggestion musicale de

Mais le vert paradis des amours enfantines,

ou la splendeur attendrie de l'invocation:

Mère des souvenirs, maitresse des maitresses.

Le livre de M. Shanks attirera peut-être vers Baudelaire quelques lecteurs pour qui les ouvrages analogues écrits en français ne seraient pas accessibles; un tel résultat ne serait point négligeable.³

Il est une période de la carrière de Baudelaire à laquelle ni M. Porché ni M. Shanks n'accordent suffisamment d'attention: ce sont les mystérieuses années de formation, entre 1840 et 1845. Si Baudelaire est vraiment l'un de nos plus grands poètes, l'égal d'un Goethe, nous dit-on,⁴ il importe d'explorer le milieu dans lequel il s'est formé; il serait même utile d'étudier de près certains de ses amis: de courtes monographies sur Charles Asselineau, sur ce

¹ L. P. Shanks, *Baudelaire: Flesh and Spirit*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1930. Pp. xii + 265.

² *Les Fleurs du Mal*, the complete poems of Charles Baudelaire, trans. L. P. Shanks. New York: Holt & Co., 1926.

³ Signalons p. 45 une inadvertance: Leconte de Lisle n'a jamais été le condisciple de Baudelaire, pour la bonne raison qu'il n'est venu à Paris qu'en 1845 ou 1846, et n'a jamais été au Lycée Louis-le-Grand, dont Baudelaire avait été renvoyé le 21 avril 1839.

⁴ "If I compared him with anyone in his century, it would be to Goethe and to Keats" (T. S. Eliot, *New Criterion*, IX [1930], 358).

curieux éditeur Poulet-Malassis, seraient les bienvenues. Les relations d'amitié, et les rapports spirituels, entre Baudelaire et tel de ses prédécesseurs—Gérard de Nerval, entre autres—demanderaient également à être éclaircis. Une publication récente nous a permis de mieux nous représenter l'atmosphère littéraire qui entoura les débuts poétiques de Baudelaire. Les journalistes parisiens ont entamé de vives discussions sur des vers retrouvés de Baudelaire, que M. Mouquet croit avoir découverts, les uns encore manuscrits, enfouis sous la poussière de la bibliothèque d'Amiens, les autres publiés par Baudelaire sous le nom de son ami Prarond. L'argumentation de M. Mouquet¹ est trop ingénieuse pour être convaincante; la preuve n'est pas faite que ces vers—la plupart étrangement faibles—soient de Baudelaire. Mais cette publication jette un jour curieux sur ce que pouvait être le jeune poète à 20 ou 22 ans. Il y a loin de *Don Juan aux Enfers* (publié en 1846, composé plusieurs années auparavant), que des critiques contemporains peu perspicaces regardaient comme le chef-d'œuvre de Baudelaire, aux *Fleurs du Mal* de 1851 ou de 1856. Il existe, quoi qu'on dise, une question de l'évolution des *Fleurs du Mal* et des progrès de l'art de Baudelaire, qu'il importerait de résoudre.

Les contemporains de Baudelaire avaient été frappés par le satanisme du poète; ennemis et admirateurs des *Fleurs du Mal* s'accordaient à reconnaître le caractère morbide de l'inspiration baudelairienne; le titre du livre, et les allures du poète, ne cherchaient d'ailleurs nullement à le dissimuler. Dans les exégèses baudelairiennes d'aujourd'hui, on veut voir tout autre chose: les trois aspects de Baudelaire que l'on se plaît à mettre en valeur sont, nous semble-t-il, le classicisme de Baudelaire, son catholicisme, et son mysticisme. "Il n'y a pas de hasard dans l'art," s'écriait Baudelaire lui-même, et on peut en effet légitimement tirer de ses théories esthétiques la formule d'un classicisme nouveau, qui intègre en lui, pour le dépasser, le romantisme antérieur. Les vers de Baudelaire sont, de tous ceux de notre dix-neuvième siècle, ceux qui rappellent le plus fréquemment Racine—et parfois aussi Boileau. Mais on force la note en réduisant Baudelaire à un classicisme pur et simple. M. Paul Valéry, dans un remarquable article, nous présente son poète favori comme un esprit lucide²—selon l'épithète favorite de Valéry lui-même à la fois lucide et obscur—qui s'est fixé délibérément une certaine tâche, et l'a accomplie, par delà tous les obstacles, toutes les misères de la vie. T. S. Eliot, autre champion du classicisme, proclame, dans un essai tout vibrant d'admiration pour Baudelaire: "The essential fact about Baudelaire is that he was essentially a Christian, born out of his due time, and a classicist, born out of his due time."³ M. S. A. Rhodes développe le même point beaucoup plus

¹ Baudelaire, *Vers retrouvés*, publiés par J. Mouquet. Paris: Emile-Paul, 1929. Voir sur ce point l'excellente discussion de J. Pommier, "Baudelaire et les lettres françaises," *Revue des cours et conférences*, XXXI (1930), 25-39 et 140-54.

² P. Valéry, "Situation de Baudelaire," *Revue de France*, 15 sept. 1924, pp. 217-34.

³ T. S. Eliot, "Baudelaire in Our Time," dans *For Lancelot Andrewes, Essays on Style and Order* (New York, 1929), pp. 89-105.

longuement et loue Baudelaire de cet ordre savant qu'il a substitué au désordre des romantiques. Certes, il y a en Baudelaire un classique (encore souhaiterions-nous que ces critiques aient songé à définir le terme avant de s'en servir) — il y a même en lui un Parnassien; mais n'est-ce point ce même Baudelaire qui déclarait aussi, en véritable romantique: "J'ai cultivé mon hystérie"?¹ Pouvons-nous sérieusement souscrire à tel jugement de M. Rhodes: "It will require the art of a Baudelaire to restore to literature that fine function of reason which had been banished by the romanticists from their work"?² Quoi! Tout est-il donc désordre et folie dans le romantisme? "Le Vallon" de Lamartine, le "Moïse" de Vigny, l'"Ode to the West Wind" de Shelley, ne sont-ils pas aussi impeccablement composés que n'importe quelle œuvre des siècles appelés classiques?—Si le lecteur de toutes ces études récentes se convainc plus que jamais que Baudelaire est grand, il est tenté d'ajouter qu'il est plus grand encore, et plus complexe, que ne le font paraître ses commentateurs, qui veulent l'expliquer par un seul terme—fût-ce le terme, aujourd'hui si en vogue, de classique.

Le catholicisme de Baudelaire n'est point discutable, ou plutôt les éléments catholiques qui imprégnaient sa sensibilité. Quant à l'orthodoxie et à la morale catholiques, on peut garder des doutes. Ici encore, il ne faudrait point exagérer, comme le fait M. S. Fumet, dans un livre publié dans une série catholique chez un éditeur catholique, et intitulé significativement *Notre Baudelaire*.³ M. Royère va plus loin.⁴ Baudelaire est pour lui un mystique. Il a, comme les mystiques, découvert "le surnaturel dans le naturel, le divin dans l'humain." Et l'auteur, entraîné par son culte, mystique lui aussi, pour le "créateur de la poésie moderne," proclame: "Baudelaire est le lieu des correspondances entre le Ciel et la Terre, le lien spasmodique entre ce qui passe et ce qui demeure" (p. 137). Les affirmations de M. Royère échappent à toute discussion; elles sont l'expression toute personnelle d'une religion, qui est en train de se répandre chez nos contemporains, la religion baudelairienne. Baudelaire, pour M. Royère et ses amis, est leur intercesseur entre Dieu et le monde; ils récitent chaque soir, après leur prière à Dieu, l'*Hymne à la Beauté*. Son livre, en dépit des hyperboles laudatives, n'est cependant pas négligeable. M. Royère est lui-même un poète de talent; il analyse avec la pénétration d'un poète certains hymnes d'amour de Baudelaire, et réussit à découvrir en eux un sens nouveau. Il est d'ailleurs incontestable que Baudelaire admirait Swedenborg, et que ce classique est aussi un mystique. Certaines lectures de mystiques sont peut-être la voie où il faut chercher les sources de son symbolisme. Sa théorie des correspondances et des analogies semble venir de Swedenborg (*Art romantique*, p. 317). L'adjectif "mystique" semble même avoir

¹ *The Cult of Beauty in Charles Baudelaire*, pp. 153-54.

² Stanislas Fumet, *Notre Baudelaire*. Paris: Plon, 1926. In-16. Pp. 237.

³ Jean Royère, *Poèmes d'Amour de Baudelaire: Le Génie mystique*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1927. In-8. Pp. 253.

hanté Baudelaire, et il en a tiré de mystérieux et de splendides effets.¹ Mais il n'est pas nécessaire, ni peut-être désirable d'être mystique soi-même pour étudier un mystique. Baudelaire semble avoir le don aujourd'hui de faire déraisonner nos contemporains les plus sages, et de les priver de tout esprit critique. Sa gloire y gagnera-t-elle en fin de compte? Nous osons en douter. Les plus fervents baudelairiens devraient se dire qu'une réputation aussi haute ne peut plus guère monter, que, selon la courbe de toutes les réputations, elle risque plutôt de descendre. Quelques admirateurs un peu indiscrets sont en train de nous présenter un Baudelaire pieux, idéaliste et martyr, un véritable petit saint. A ce Baudelaire du vingtième siècle, nous préférons le vrai Baudelaire, humoriste et mystificateur, dépensier, malade, débauché peut-être, mais vivant.²

Parmi les dix ou douze livres qui ont paru, depuis 1926, sur Baudelaire, il en est deux que l'historien littéraire doit distinguer, car ils constituent une enquête précise et attentive sur un sujet où les travaux véritablement critiques sont encore peu nombreux. M. S. A. Rhodes est l'un des trop rares critiques américains qui non seulement sont très bien informés sur la littérature française contemporaine, mais la jugent avec une pénétration sympathique, une intelligence ouverte, qui commandent l'attention des Français eux-mêmes. L'abbé Bremond a parlé récemment dans les termes les plus flatteurs de son long ouvrage sur Baudelaire.³ Nous préférons, justement parce que l'on peut attendre de M. Rhodes une œuvre plus irréprochable, ne pas nous associer sans réserve à ces éloges. Ces deux volumes ont tous les défauts d'un travail de jeunesse, s'ils en ont par ailleurs la fraîcheur et la brûlante sincérité. Ils sont touffus et embroussaillés. M. Rhodes, sous son titre bizarre, veut embrasser tout Baudelaire. Il fait défiler successivement devant son lecteur le "sens de la beauté" de Baudelaire, son esthétique des sensations, son "réalisme" (?) imaginaire et idéaliste, son symbolisme, son art d'écrire, sa critique, son dandysme, ses idées sur le progrès politique et social (!), sur la moralité, sur la religion, sur Paris et la poésie des villes, enfin le récit de ses amours. A l'intérieur de chaque chapitre, le plan n'est, trop souvent, guère plus net; le résultat en est malheureusement que ce livre, d'une lecture difficile, ne rencontrera pas autant de lecteurs qu'il le mérite.

D'autre part, la dispersion de ses efforts a contraint M. Rhodes à être superficiel sur bien des points. Les chapitres sur la religion de Baudelaire, sur sa critique, sur son art, sont loin d'épuiser, ou même d'approfondir le sujet. Mieux aurait valu, selon la grande leçon de Baudelaire lui-même, délimiter

¹ "Mêlaient d'une façon solennelle et mystique ..." (*La Vie antérieure*); "Un soir fait de rose et de bleu mystique ..." (*La Mort des amants*), etc.

² Pourquoi par exemple négliger obstinément le fait que, pendant vingt-cinq ans de sa vie, Baudelaire a souffert de la syphilis? Le détail, même si ce n'est que cela, n'est pas sans importance pour comprendre certaines parties de l'œuvre.

³ S. A. Rhodes, *The Cult of Beauty in Charles Baudelaire*. New York: Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, 1929. 2 vols. Pp. xxi + 261 et 262-616.

un sujet plus étroit, et le traiter en profondeur, selon une méthode plus rigoureuse. On a, plus d'une fois, avec M. Rhodes, l'impression de glisser à la surface, et de passer d'un chapitre à l'autre, sans que rien de vraiment nouveau ait été dit, sans que les données déjà connues aient été réorganisées ou renouvelées par une interprétation originale.

Les pages de M. Rhodes n'en resteront pas moins comme un document curieux sur l'admiration intelligente que Baudelaire a pu inspirer à un critique étranger. Certes, les Français ne peuvent plus désormais se plaindre que leur poésie n'est pas appréciée à sa juste valeur par les lecteurs de langue anglaise. Les qualités de M. Rhodes, si rares chez les "docteurs en philosophie," sont une vive sensibilité, une perception intuitive, presque sensuelle dans sa délirante ardeur, des beautés de la poésie baudelairienne. Aussi regrette-t-on d'autant plus qu'un critique aussi personnel éprouve si souvent le besoin de s'appuyer sur d'innombrables autorités. Il eût été amusant de parcourir l'index de M. Rhodes. (Son livre n'en comporte malheureusement pas.) Dans les seules dix premières pages du chapitre ii (pp. 33-43), il cite successivement Schopenhauer (2 fois), Nietzsche, Croce, Coleridge, Schopenhauer (3^e fois), Nietzsche (2^e et 3^e fois), R. de Souza, Schopenhauer (4^e fois), l'abbé Bremond, John Erskine, R. de Souza (2^e et 3^e fois), A. Gide, etc. Cela est pénible à lire; et tous ces "magister dixit" ne sont pas très convaincants, le magister fût-il, comme c'est souvent le cas, Valéry, Gide ou Havelock Ellis. Une citation ne remplace pas un bon argument.¹

Si le plan de M. Rhodes manque de rigueur, on ne peut faire le même reproche à M. Vivier, l'auteur de l'étude critique la plus précise, et, dans ses limites, la plus précieuse, qui ait encore été écrite sur Baudelaire.² M. Vivier s'est posé un problème bien net et de première importance. En quoi consiste l'originalité de Baudelaire? Dans la première partie, il examine la technique des *Fleurs du Mal* (car il borne son sujet à l'œuvre poétique de Baudelaire).

¹ Il convient de signaler, à la fin du second volume, une très utile bibliographie, la meilleure peut-être dont nous disposions. Jusqu'à ce qu'un chercheur dévoué nous donne quelque jour la bibliographie baudelairienne définitive qui nous manque.—Les erreurs matérielles ne manquent pas dans l'ouvrage de M. Rhodes. La pagination est aussi étrange que malcommode (le 2^e volume reprenant à la page où s'est arrêté le premier, selon une habitude qui semble se répandre et que rien ne justifie). Les *op. cit.* sont prodigués, sans qu'on sache le plus souvent à quel titre ils renvoient le lecteur soucieux de vérifier les références. Notons enfin quelques fautes d'impression dans les mots français: p. 32, "Indecible" pour "Indicible"; p. 59, "trauvaux" pour "travaux"; p. 94, le 3^e vers de Verlaine cité est faux; p. 118, "effusion" pour "effusion"; p. 130, "intelligence" devrait être "inintelligence"; pp. 164 et 180, "Malherbe" n'a pas d's; p. 183, Shelley est appelé "the greatest of English lakists," ce qui ne laisse pas de surprendre; p. 257, "ou" pour "où"; p. 304, "Eli" pour "Elie"; p. 329, "Galemart" pour "Calemard"; p. 392, "Pécouchet" pour "Pécuchet"; p. 452, "Idylle enfantin" pour "enfantin"; p. 474, "le virginité" pour "la"; p. 478, "plain" pour "plein." M. Rhodes, qui a un tempérament d'artiste, gâte parfois son style par un jargon philosophique, qui le rend d'ailleurs malaisé à comprendre. Par ex., p. 401, "Art is a freeing process—it is dynamic. Morality is an inclosing process—it tends towards the static." Ah! Qu'en termes savants ces choses-là sont dites!

² R. Vivier, *L'Originalité de Charles Baudelaire*, dans *Mémoires de l'Académie de Langue et de Littérature françaises de Bruxelles* (1926). Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1928. In-8. Pp. 342.

Sa méthode est un peu scolaire; elle a une prédilection trop marquée pour les divisions et les subdivisions. Mais elle amène l'auteur à tirer une série de conclusions positives sur la composition du livre et des poèmes pris séparément, sur les procédés de développement, la syntaxe, les images, l'atmosphère, le ton, enfin la "psychologie" de ces vers. La deuxième partie reprend l'ordre suivi dans la première : dans chacune de ses multiples subdivisions, le critique recherche maintenant quels étaient les antécédents de Baudelaire, de quelles sources livresques il s'est inspiré. La troisième et dernière partie sera donc une soustraction: les emprunts de Baudelaire étant ce qu'ils sont (fort importants d'après l'auteur), ils nous donnent, une fois déduits des résultats acquis dans la première partie, un résidu: l'originalité du poète. La conclusion de M. Vivier semble être: (1) Baudelaire, dont le travail poétique consiste à transformer des perceptions extérieures concrètes en idées générales abstraites, préférerait naturellement prendre ses données au dehors, pour les élaborer ensuite. (2) A ses emprunts, Baudelaire ajoute toujours un "timbre" personnel qui les renouvelle. Baudelaire rejoint donc les grands classiques, Racine, Molière, La Fontaine: comme eux, il prend son bien où il le trouve. Au lieu de s'attarder à rassembler des matériaux (images nouvelles, rythmes originaux, etc.), il reprend et approfondit ceux que lui ont fournis ses prédécesseurs. Il est le "classique de la poésie romantique."

La démonstration de M. Vivier est menée avec une rigueur logique qui convaincra sans doute la plupart de ses lecteurs. Elle est solidement assise sur une dissection minutieuse de la technique baudelairienne. Mais la vérité n'est pas toujours rigueur et logique. Les conclusions même du livre ne sont point si originales qu'on ne puisse les accepter; on se rebiffe cependant à la lecture de la deuxième partie, sur les sources des *Fleurs du Mal*. Et, si cette partie se trouve être fragile, tout l'édifice architectural de M. Vivier risque de s'effondrer. Avouons donc que la plupart des emprunts relevés par M. Vivier ne sont rien de plus que des rapprochements, de ces rapprochements fort hypothétiques auxquels nous tous, professeurs, critiques et érudits, savants et parfois pédants que nous sommes, nous nous laissons entraîner. M. Vivier, hypnotisé par tel texte de Ballanche, de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, croit tout expliquer par une juxtaposition de deux phrases, alors qu'il laisse échapper l'essentiel. Nous citerons quelques exemples, car l'erreur de M. Vivier est celle de bien d'autres chercheurs de sources: Baudelaire, dans la *Mort des amants*, emploie l'expression: fleurs cueillies sous "des cieux plus beaux." Ceci, nous révèle le critique, "semble provenir de Delille (*Les trois règnes de la nature*): "les climats où des soleils plus beaux. ..."—Ailleurs, dans le *Balcon*, Baudelaire écrit "au fond des mers profondes"; or Delille avait déjà écrit: "au sein des mers profondes."—Le vers: "Entends, ma chère, entends la douce nuit qui marche," a pu être inspiré par Fontenelle, qui, dans les *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes*, dit: "Il semble pendant la nuit que les étoiles marchent avec plus de silence." Et le reste trop souvent à l'avenant. Nous savions, même sans l'érudition de M. Vivier, que des Français avaient déjà

dû écrire "mers profondes" ou "soleils plus beaux." Que nous importe? Ce ne sont point ces sources problématiques qui nous révéleront le secret de cette poésie. Baudelaire avait peut-être lu Delille, Fontenelle et autres; rien ne le prouve. Mais il avait aussi contemplé des tableaux, lui, le critique d'art; il avait rêvé en écoutant de la musique; il s'était promené en méditant dans les rues de Paris; il avait lu des journaux et des revues; il avait discuté avec ses amis, leur avait peut-être emprunté quelques idées ou quelques tournures de phrase; quand donc cessera-t-on de croire qu'il n'y a de sources que les sources livresques? M. Vivier, qui était si bien parti à la découverte de l'originalité baudelairienne, s'attarde à de fausses pistes. Son livre reste fort utile pour la compréhension de Baudelaire; il n'épuise pas la question posée. En quoi Baudelaire est-il différent des autres poètes du XIX^e siècle, en quoi, peut-être, leur est-il supérieur?

Il est possible d'ailleurs que la question ne puisse être résolue. Mais il est certaines voies où l'on pourrait orienter les recherches. Le problème des sources, pris dans le sens large d'influence de tel ou tel esprit, et non de simple rapprochement de termes, n'est pas épuisé. On nous a entretenu à satiété du prestige exercé par E. Poe sur Baudelaire.¹ Qu'on laisse E. Poe de côté désormais, et qu'on examine aussi ce que Baudelaire pourrait devoir à Joseph de Maistre, à Vigny, à ce "cénacle" de la rue du Doyenné, dont il a connu les survivants assez lamentables, qui lui ont appris à ne pas suivre leur exemple, à ne pas être lui aussi un raté de la littérature. Que l'on fasse une étude intelligente, c'est-à-dire à la fois philologique et psychologique, de la langue et du style de Baudelaire; rien n'est plus curieux que son style de prosateur, nerveux, tendu, pincé, sarcastique et déconcertant à la Stendhal. Que l'on s'attache surtout à ce que le poète lui-même appelait la "sorcellerie évocatoire," aux images, si caractéristiques, et, croyons-nous, si révélatrices, de Baudelaire. Quand on aura étudié longuement ce qui fait le sens et la beauté des grandes images baudelairiennes, quand on aura suivi dans les *Poèmes en prose*, dans les lettres, les fragments intimes, leur lent développement, on comprendra mieux le pouvoir d'évocation magique de tel vers mystérieux:

Quand vers toi mes désirs partent en caravane,
Tes yeux sont la citerne où boivent mes ennuis.

ou

Je t'adore à l'égal de la voûte nocturne,
O vase de tristesse, ô grande taciturne. ...

Baudelaire enfin, n'est pas qu'un grand poète; il est le plus grand critique d'art qu'ait produit la France, et nous connaissons encore insuffisamment cet aspect de son œuvre. Comment s'est éveillé son goût pour la peinture? Com-

¹ Voir L. Lemonnier, *Les traducteurs d'E. Poe en France de 1845 à 1875: Ch. Baudelaire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1928; in-8; pp. 214), toute la deuxième partie; du même auteur, *E. Poe et la critique française de 1845 à 1875* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1928; in-8; pp. 339); et L. Seylaz, *E. Poe et les premiers Symbolistes français* (Lausanne: La Concorde, 1927), pp. 54-103.

ment l'a-t-il formé? Quelles étaient ses connaissances techniques? Les ouvrages sur Baudelaire répètent sans cesse les mêmes considérations vaguement élogieuses, alors qu'il faudrait examiner tous les tableaux que Baudelaire a jugés, ceux même qu'il a négligés, et reconstituer son travail, pour voir comment il a pu réussir là où tant d'autres ont échoué.

Il est trop tôt peut-être pour aborder les nombreuses questions que posera l'influence de Baudelaire. On peut laisser aux thèses de nos successeurs de 1960 ces sujets classiques que seront alors "Baudelaire en Amérique," "Baudelaire en Hollande," "Baudelaire en Russie," ... Nous possédons déjà, en France, de précieuses indications, qu'il reste à grouper, sur l'influence de Baudelaire sur Rimbaud, Mallarmé, Valéry. Une thèse récente, écrite, malheureusement pour nous, en danois, consacre plus de soixante pages à suivre la fortune de Baudelaire en France.¹ Un critique anglais vient de publier cinq essais intitulés *Baudelaire and the Symbolists*,² qui promettent plus qu'ils ne donnent, mais remplacent agréablement le livre aujourd'hui vieilli d'Arthur Symons sur le symbolisme. Si le XX^e siècle tout entier confirme le verdict de 1930, on n'en aura pas fini de sitôt avec l'influence de ce chef-d'œuvre, qui, selon le vœu de Baudelaire lui-même,

Fait rêver aujourd'hui les cervelles humaines,
et fait travailler fiévreusement les cerveaux des critiques.

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¹ Christian Rimestad, *Baudelaire*. Copenhagen, 1927. In-8. Pp. 256.

² Peter Quennell, *Baudelaire and the Symbolists*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1929.

REVIEWS

Hilarii versus et ludi. Edited from the Paris manuscript, by J. B. FULLER. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929. Pp. v+122+1 plate.

The progress of medieval Latin studies is seriously hindered by the lack of editions of *inedita*; often we need new and better editions of those that are inaccessible or defective according to modern standards. Since the first and only edition of Hilarius has been out of print for many years, and is defective according to modern standards, Mr. Fuller's re-editing of the Paris manuscript, together with the poem published by Marchegay in 1876, is especially welcome.

In his introduction Mr. Fuller deals with the manuscript, the life of Hilarius, and gives summaries and brief interpretations of the poems. He might have given a more detailed account of the manuscript and of the peculiarities of the scribe. Nothing is said of the relation of Hilarius to Goliardic verse, but we shall know more about this subject when P. S. Allen's book on the Goliards appears. The student of medieval drama will be disappointed that Mr. Fuller's treatment of the plays is so brief. Not a word is said about the characteristics of the Latin of Hilarius. Did Damiani and Anselm show a "lively interest in the ancient classics" and "spread their enthusiasm for them?" There is no evidence of this in the writings of Anselm; and there is positive evidence to the contrary in the writings of Damiani, who thought the learning of this world, even the study of grammar, was sinful—the foolishness of the Gospel being the one thing necessary, all else superfluous and evil. In his text Mr. Fuller has aimed to give a faithful transcription of the manuscript, preserving "the spelling with all its inconsistencies." Many will regret that he did not relegate inconsistencies to the footnotes and capitalize proper names. On the whole he has produced a better text than that of Champollion-Figeac; he has numbered verses and made a better stanzaic arrangement (I prefer, however, Champollion-Figeac's four-line arrangement of xi. 167, 168).

A few readings and emendations are questionable. i. 84: MS reads *relaxari*. F. emends to *relaxavit*. *Relaxari* would be better. The infinitive construction with *oro* is found in Ovid and later poets. The good nun could not forgive her own sins. i. 131: F. has *circumstantes*; MS, *circumstantes* (see illustration). i. 138: F. *summum*; MS, *sunnum* (see illustration). i. 146: F. *resta(ura)vit*; MS, *restauu* (see illustration). v. 18: *Sufficere* should be *sufficere*. v. 22: *laciua=lascivia*. vi. 8: *ultorum* should be *ultorem*. *Ullor* is used attributively by the Latin poets. ix. 18: *singularum* should be *singularem*. x. 31: Two syllables are missing and the second should bear the accent. F. ac-

cepts Winterfeld's emendation *factus*, which is awkward. Champollion emended *tibi*, which is likewise objectionable. The missing syllables balanced *Pro puella*. I suggest *pro te*. xi (stage direction). 49: F. omits *duo* before *iudei*. xi (stage direction). 151: *Maria* should be *Martha*. xi. 175: *mondo* = *mundo*. xii. 44: F. has *Nunc feres insultum*. *Nun feres inultum* is better. For the idiom, cf. Terence *Andria* 3. 5. 4; *Heaut. Tim.* 5. 1. 45. xii. 57: I should change *portatis* to *portastis*. Cf. line 69. xv. 14: F. has *Subjugat rebellia*. Champollion's emendation *Rebellia subjugas* is better logically. xv. 55-59: Champollion's punctuation is better; also his *enarrate* instead of F.'s *enarrare*. xv. 101, 102: *Ne turberis, baltasar, propter visum subitum; Adest (enim) daniel cui nil est incognitum*. Du Ménil emended by changing *nil* to *nihil*. A syllable would be lacking. Fuller's *enim* is metrically sound, but I prefer *namque*. Cf. lines 105, 140. xv. 261: *at(que) si quis (s)perneret.*; MS, *Ac si quis perneret*. A simple emendation is to suppose *que* and *s* have dropped out. It then reads: *Ac si quis(que) (s)perneret*. xv (stage direction). 279: F. has *concludit*, and Champollion *concludat*. The subjunctive would be expected here. The book contains no bibliography except a few footnote references, and there is no Index.

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A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions (1578) (1926); The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576-1606) (1927); The Pack of Autolycus or Strange and Terrible News (1927); Tottel's Miscellany (1557-1587) (Vol. I, 1928; Vol. II, 1929); The Pepys Ballads (Vols. I and II, 1929; Vols. III and IV, 1930). Edited by HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Hyder E. Rollins continues to add with great regularity to his imposing series of volumes on the English lyric and ballad of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Since the review of three of his volumes in *Modern Philology* for August, 1925 (XXIII, 119-25), nine others have appeared, all issued by the Harvard Press in unusually handsome form. Five of these belong to the ballad field. The *Pack of Autolycus* contains forty ballads which with one or two exceptions have not been reprinted previously. Slightly more than half of them are taken from the Wood Collection in the Bodleian. The specimens are well chosen to give an impression of the popular interest in the marvelous and the gruesome. In the six volumes of the *Pepys Ballads*, four of which are now off the press, Mr. Rollins is reprinting from the magnificent collection of broadsides in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. His first two volumes contain such of the relatively early broadsides in the first volume of the Pepys Collection—ninety in number—as have not been reprinted by the defunct Ballad Society or by Mr. Rollins in his *Pepysian Garland*. As he points out in the Preface to the *Pack of Autolycus*, the majority

of these probably came to Pepys from Selden. With the third volume he begins the reprinting of the later ballads in the collection, those presumably gathered by Pepys himself. In his various books and articles on the ballad, Mr. Rollins has performed the double task of reprinting most of the extant specimens before 1660 which were not already accessible in modern works and of restudying the history of the ballad and its chief writers, at least to the Restoration. His work is indispensable for a study of the broadside ballad, and the ballad is of necessity one of our chief sources for a study of the taste and the social life of the masses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

To Mr. Rollins' labors we owe also elaborate editions of three important Elizabethan miscellanies: *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, and Tottel's *Miscellany*. The first was printed only once in the sixteenth century; the other two ran into nine or more early editions. Mr. Rollins has reprinted the earliest edition of the *Paradise* and Tottel's *Miscellany*, including at the end of his texts the poems added later, and he has given tables of significant textual variants of all early editions. For all three miscellanies, errors in transcription or modifications found in the more important modern editions are listed, and similar details are given in the notes for variant versions of single poems that occur also in manuscripts, broadsides, or other collections. In his introductions or notes Mr. Rollins often prints, in full or in part, poems that are widely variant forms of those in the miscellanies or that are modeled on them. In this phase of his work especially, he has contributed much that is new to our knowledge of individual poems—their history, authorship, sources, and so forth—and has illustrated his unusually wide acquaintance with the Elizabethan lyric and ballad. The annotation, however, is excellent generally. There are also full bibliographical descriptions of all the early editions of the miscellanies and the important later ones. In fact, the mass of historical, textual, and bibliographical detail that had to be arranged and checked would have appalled a less systematic and industrious worker. It is scarcely necessary to say that Mr. Rollins' work in these fields attains a high degree of accuracy.

Tottel's *Miscellany*, which presents an unusual number of interesting problems, may be singled out for special notice here. In the textual work on this miscellany, excellent as it is on the whole, Mr. Rollins has pursued a plan which seems to me to leave his task incomplete. Evidently he attempted to locate all versions of the separate poems and to record all significant variant readings. He regularly takes his variant readings directly from original editions or manuscripts. But in the case of Wyatt and Surrey, the all-important contributors, no recourse was had to the early manuscripts, though these are more significant for the texts than Tottel's versions. Instead, in spite of devoting a great deal of space in the notes to discrediting the textual work of Miss Foxwell and Mr. Padelford when they transcribe from Tottel's *Miscellany* in editing Wyatt and Surrey respectively, he contents himself with citing the readings of these two editors for the textual variants found in the manu-

script versions of Wyatt and Surrey. One source of information about early versions of certain poems by Wyatt he disregards—Mrs. Stopes's reprint and discussion of the fragmentary *Court of Venus* in *Shakespeare's Industry*. One of the three poems by Wyatt that are found in both this fragment and Tottel's *Miscellany*, Mr. Rollins discusses on the basis of Miss Foxwell's comments, but like her he disregards the other two. No doubt the discovery by R. H. Griffith of the fragmentary *Boke of Balettes* and by R. A. Law of its relation to the *Court of Venus* (*Times Literary Supplement*, July 5, 1928, and December 26, 1929) came too late for use by Mr. Rollins. The *Court of Venus* and the *Boke of Balettes* have an important bearing on the rise of the miscellany and the garland, but Mr. Rollins continues emphatically to trace the genre to Tottel's *Miscellany*, though in reviewing his edition of *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* I pointed out the significance of the *Court of Venus* in this respect. In the Preface to *Certain chapters of the Prouerbes*, etc., John Hall referred as early as 1550 to "ye Court of Venus, or other bokes of lecherous Ballades" (Stopes, *Shakespeare's Industry*, pp. 302, 306), possibly with the *Boke of Balettes* in mind as well as the *Court of Venus*.

In the annotation of Tottel's *Miscellany* there is also a relative neglect of medieval conventions, especially in English and French literature, despite scattering parallels from Chaucer and other medieval writers. It is true that the poems of Tottel's *Miscellany* were selected to represent the poetry of the new age, and moreover that no editor should be expected to cover every possible field of comment. But Mr. Rollins records Italian and Latin sources so fully and cites passages so abundantly from later English literature to illustrate conceits and conventional forms of expression that the weakness of the comment on the medieval background gives a somewhat distorted perspective. For instance, two poems by Surrey have a typical seasonal motivation that is not noted. Though attention is called to a suggestion of the rondel in No. 2, nothing is said of the fact that the poem resembles a *reverdîe* more closely in such phrases as "Somer is come" than it does the sonnet of Petrarch from which it is loosely adapted. The first half of No. 5 uses *reverdîe* and Valentine conventions and is strongly impregnated with Chaucerian diction, but these older influences are recognized only in a note on the phrase "the new betrothed birdes ycoupled" to the effect, "This choice of mates was supposed to take place (as Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* reminds us) on St. Valentine's day." For a third poem of the type, however, No. 18, Mr. Padel-ford's comment is quoted in regard to the seasonal opening and the *pastourelle* and *chanson à personnages* motives. Again, the use of medieval love allegory as a point of departure for the conceits of Lord Vaux's poem "Thassault of Cupide" (No. 211) receives no notice. Warton compared the poem with Dunbar's *Golden Targe*, but evidently it was suggested by the Siege of the Castle of Beauty, a motive popular in the masques of Henry VIII, in which courtiers of Lord Vaux's rank engaged. In connection with "wiates complaint vpon Loue, to Reason: with Loues answer" (No. 64), which has its source in

a canzone of Petrarch, Mr. Rollins makes the statement that "Loues accusation at the iudgement seat of Reason" in J. C.'s *Alcilia* (1595) is "an imitation either of Wyatt or of Petrarch." In fact, all three of these poems reflect an old court-of-love *débat*, and the poem in *Alcilia* is in some respects closer to the *débat* than the other two. Mr. Rollins does, however, point out the fact that the "question" at the end of the "Complaint vpon Loue" is "similar to the 'questions' in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*." To mention only one other example, after printing Beza's epigrams "Ponticus Cornelio de uxore non ducenda" and "Ponticus Cornelio de uxore ducenda" as the sources of Nos. 131 and 132, Mr. Rollins illustrates the commonness of the theme by citing two pairs of similar antithetical poems on wives which were published after Tottel's *Miscellany*. But he does not cite "Goliath de conjuge non ducenda," which was early translated into English—Wynken de Worde printed one version—nor does he call attention to the early vogue of such poetry in Tudor England as illustrated in two other pairs of antithetical epigrams on wives in Tottel's *Miscellany* itself (Nos. 255-58). Though the conventionality of such forms in English before the days of Wyatt and Surrey is less significant than the large amount of borrowing from Italian and Latin, it has a place in a study of the genesis of the new poetry. But even if the method is in some ways open to criticism, the excellence of the edition is beyond question. For the first time we have an edition of Tottel's *Miscellany* that is in any sense scholarly, and students will long be grateful for it.

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Complaints by Edmund Spenser. Edited by W. L. RENWICK. London: Scholartis Press, 1928. Pp. x+274.

Although Spenser's *Complaints* was never a volume of first-rate importance, a new edition of it is of no slight interest. Spenserian scholarship is in a not very satisfactory state, and a fairly elaborate edition of this group of Spenser's minor poems might be exceedingly useful. Unfortunately, the editor of this volume, Professor W. L. Renwick, seems to have been uncertain about what to include and what to exclude, and he has been more careful with what he cared about than with the needs of other scholars. The result is an uneven and fundamentally unsatisfactory edition.

Thus, while Professor Renwick is quite right in not following the recent tendency to neglect the literary aspects of Spenser's poetry for the sake of the biographical and historical elements, he goes too far in the opposite direction. For example, in the introductory remarks on *Mother Hubberds Tale*, page 231, he says: "In all Spenser's work he had a triple aim: to write delectable poetry, to teach sound and various doctrine and to comment on contemporary affairs: and that is the order of importance." This statement of Spenser's aims applies very well to a poem like *The Teares of the Muses*, but it does not apply to a number of other poems, including *Mother Hubberds*

Tale itself. And Professor Renwick's commentary accords with his theory whereas it should elucidate the varying characteristics of the different poems.

On the whole, Professor Renwick's examination of Spenser's sources is illuminating. He has traced Spenser's reading of Virgil, Ovid, Seneca, and the other classical authors, taking care to explain that many of the parallels are not necessarily "sources" but possibly only examples of the floating knowledge of the Renaissance. He emphasizes quite properly Spenser's dependence upon the Latin Stoics, Cicero, Seneca, and their followers. A not unrelated source of inspiration for Spenser was the Bible, particularly the Sapiential books. Professor Renwick's investigations here show a wide knowledge of the Bible, but they could and should have been amplified and corrected by reference to some of the recent articles on the subject, notably Miss Grace Warren Landrum's elaborate if not exhaustive study (*PMLA*, XLI [1926], 517-44).

This same neglect of previous work on the *Complaints* is shown in Professor Renwick's treatment of *Virgil's Gnat*. His commentary is sound but could have been made more effective if he had read O. F. Emerson's article in *JEGP*, XVII (1918), 94-118, which covered the same ground somewhat more intensively. And again, in the treatment of the *Visions of Bellay* and the *Visions of Petrarch* Professor Renwick betrays a complete ignorance of his predecessors' accomplishments.

That the *Pléiade* had a great deal of influence on Spenser has long been known, but many of the passages which Spenser copies have not been noted before this edition. Unfortunately, Professor Renwick is hardly as effective in observing the Italian background; aside from one or two references to Ariosto and Minturno, the only Italian author cited in the notes is Castiglione—quite properly in Hoby's translation. Spenser's extensive borrowings from the *Courtier* in *Mother Hubberds Tale* are noted; most of his borrowings in *The Teares of the Muses* seem to have been missed, although they too are significant. Petrarch's name does not appear except in connection with the *Visions of Petrarch*, although it is hardly credible that Spenser was ignorant of Petrarch's treatment of his own favorite theme of vicissitude in the *Trionfi*.

That Spenser read such authors as Du Bellay and Du Bartas and Ronsard and Castiglione is in no sense surprising, but that he read the works of men like Lillius Gyraldus and Natalis Comes has frequently been overlooked. It is possible that Professor Renwick has given a new start to the investigation of Spenser's literary background by showing Spenser's use of the *Musarum Syntagma* and similar works.

Spenser's English reading is usually more taken for granted than analyzed. Here, too, Professor Renwick shows his erudition. He illustrates *The Ruines of Time* with long and appropriate quotations from Camden and Holinshed, and *Mother Hubberds Tale* from such diverse sources as Field and Wilson's *Admonition* and Howell's *Devises*. It is to be regretted that he has not gone more thoroughly into Spenser's knowledge of Chaucer. He notes some Chaucerian touches, but vaguely and infrequently. Yet Spenser was a self-

confessed lover of Chaucer. The name of Skelton does not appear. Moreover, the exact significance of the title *Prosopopoia* could have been determined by reference to Puttenham.

Professor Renwick remarks that Spenser had a habit of repeating himself; yet aside from the commentary on *Muiopotmos* there is almost no illustration of this interesting tendency. For example, the close parallelisms between a passage in *The Teares of the Muses* and certain of the *Dedicatory Sonnets* have been overlooked—even though this passage is of paramount importance in a consideration of the date of *The Teares of the Muses*.

Professor Renwick is not as successful in his biographical and historical interpretations as he is in his literary illustrations. He falls into the same error of paying no attention to previous workers, with results that are rather disastrous. For example, in explaining the basis of his text and in giving a history of the vicissitudes of the *Complaints* after the first edition of 1591 (pp. 267-68) he makes no use of Professor B. E. C. Davis' article (*MLR*, XX [1925], 18-24), where the history is given in full and the proper deductions are made from the facts. Even more unfortunate is his ignorance of Long's review (*ES*, XLIV [1912], 260-66) of De Sélincourt's edition of the *Minor Poems*, for Long gave a list of variants in different copies of *Complaints* which Professor Renwick has of course not included in his neat table of variants, a table which pretends to completeness.

The problem of dating the various poems in the *Complaints* volume is a difficult one. Professor Renwick on the whole adheres to rather orthodox views. Over and above the inconclusiveness inherent in an incomplete acquaintance with the various arguments that have already been propounded, he renders his work highly dubious by a tendency to brush aside or to skip relevant if not necessarily conclusive evidence.

An example of this tendency is to be found in Professor Renwick's discussion of *The Teares of the Muses*, a poem which he is anxious to date early. It is impossible to prove beyond question just when the poem was written, but any hypothesis must take into consideration the following facts, which certainly militate against Professor Renwick's theory. First, the dedicatee is called Lady Strange, a title which she did not have until 1589. Second, the dedication was written with the publication of the poem in this volume in mind. Third, the dedication is apparently designed for a new poem, not an old one (compare this dedication and the "Long since dedicated" of *Virgils Gnat*). Similarly, the tantalizing parallels between the *Visions of Bellay*, *The Teares of the Muses*, and *The Faerie Queen*, etc., should have been at least considered in the possibly hopeless attempt to date Spenser's revision of his early translations. Again, Professor Renwick remarks that *Virgils Gnat* was translated before Spenser went to Ireland; this is a rash statement, because if, as many people assume, Spenser's going to Ireland was Leicester's way of punishing him, would not the plaintive offering have been sent to Leicester from exile?

Professor Renwick is anxious to show that much of what has been interpreted as Spenser's attack on Burghley is capable of a more general interpretation. His arguments would carry more weight if he answered the arguments of his opponents in detail. In this connection he should have accounted for the suppression of *Mother Hubberds Tale* and the alteration of a passage in *The Ruines of Time*, in the Folio of 1611. Professor Renwick is not very happy in explaining personal allusions anyway; his guess of Gascoigne for "Willy," and Spenser himself for "That Gentle Spirit," are, he admits, rash; they are dependent upon the acceptance of an early date for the composition of *The Teares of the Muses*, and they seem to me to have singularly little plausibility at best.

There is little or no consideration of the questions involved in the makeup of the volume or of the problems of explaining the dedications. Professor Renwick has observed the curious repetition of the phrase "take in worth" in the dedication to Lady Carey and in the first of the *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*; however, he misses the repetition of the phrase "faire Ladie" which also occurs twice: next to "take in worth" in the *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* and in the Epilogue to the *Visions of Petrarch*; and he makes no comment on the significance of the repetition which he has noticed.

The commentary as a whole is marred by discursiveness and vagueness. Professor Renwick is overanxious to avoid the appearance of pedantry and to show his preoccupation with the ultimate ends of poetry. For instance, in his general discussion of the *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* he says: "They are crude examples of Spenser's attempt to solve one of the great problems of art—a problem which always haunted him as it haunted Tasso: the relation between the physical basis and the spiritual end of art" (p. 255). This kind of confusing generalization serves no useful purpose in a commentary. Again, on page 198, the note on the stanza in *The Ruines of Time* that begins "For deeds doe die, however noblie donne . . ." says that "this is a stanza to learn by heart, an amulet, and a touchstone for English verse." The person who has occasion to read a scholarly commentary on *The Ruines of Time* does not have to be told how to form his taste.

Some of the foregoing criticisms on Professor Renwick's judgment in selecting material for his commentary, on the comparative emphasis he gives to biographical or literary elements, etc., are controversial, but there is one field in which an editor has no choice: he must give exact sources and accurate references, and he must have his commentary, as well as his text, comparatively free from error. Professor Renwick fails in doing all these things.

The body of the text, which is based on a copy of the 1591 edition of *Complaints* in the Hunterian Museum, is carefully done. There has been no collation of the folio; and the emendations, sound for the most part, err occasionally on the side of boldness, particularly in proper names, notably *Ixione* to *Hesione* (*Virgils Gnat*, l. 490). I have noted only one place where an emendation has—apparently—been made without comment: *Ruines of*

Time, Dedication, last line, "haudes" to "handes"; and one where an emendation is mentioned in the textual notes and not found in the text: *Teares of the Muses*, line 432, "compyle." to "compyle.". There are a number of divergences between Professor Renwick's text and the text of the Bodleian and other copies; these should, of course, have been included in the list of variants, but they do not detract from the admirable accuracy with which the body of the text has been reproduced. On the other hand, for some strange reason, the title-pages, the headings to the dedications, and the "note of the sundrie Poemes contained in this volume" differ so radically from my own copy and from the Bodleian copy that it is impossible to believe that any true reproduction of the Glasgow text was made; yet the departure from the original is not mentioned. Moreover, in the bibliographical collation of the volume, pages 263-64, the collation given differs from the collation of all the copies I have examined in four places; probably all four are errors. Finally, the commentary and the textual notes abound in faulty and vague references and misprints. I have compiled a list which contains over forty errors, and I did not check the whole commentary to discover these; in all probability there are a number more.

This is hardly the edition of the *Complaints* that was needed. It is too full of esoteric references for the ordinary reader, it is too inaccurate, too hurried in the discussion of disputed points to satisfy the scholar. It would not be fair to say that Professor Renwick has added nothing to our knowledge—inevitably a man of his erudition is able to point out some new sources, and explain more fully some of Spenser's literary principles; but his edition is far—in the light of our present knowledge unnecessarily far—from being a "definitive" edition.

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Milton. By E. M. W. TILLYARD. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1930. Pp. viii+396.

Mr. Tillyard's *Milton* is an important contribution to that series of studies which, during the last two decades, have been bringing about a revaluation of Milton, and which, diverse though they have been in many ways, have shared in common an attempt to estimate Milton upon sounder historical principles. Since on the whole Milton's countrymen have had less to do with the development of this recent Milton scholarship than either the continental or the American group, Mr. Tillyard's volume has a double interest for the Milton student.

Like the majority of English Miltonians of the past, the author is concerned with aesthetic and critical, rather than with political, philosophical, or psychological, problems. Yet he does not make the mistake of dissociating one group too sharply from the other. "It is Milton's literary development I have mainly in mind," he writes (p. 2), "but illumined as far as possible by

his mental experience." The word "development" is here important, for, unlike many critics, Mr. Tillyard insists that all Milton's work—at least until *Samson Agonistes*—does show development, though he makes a strong case for his belief that Milton changed sharply in his point of view during the actual writing of *Paradise Lost*. From his pages emerges a Milton who both as artist and as man grew and developed consistently through youth and early manhood; who, had it not been for the tragedy of the middle years, would have produced an epic very different from the one he actually wrote. The reconstruction of Milton's proposed *Arthuriad* is one of Mr. Tillyard's chief interests, and he shows great ingenuity in detecting in the prose works as in the later poems elements and points of view which might have adorned the greatest Arthur of them all.

This is a volume which cannot possibly be dismissed in the brief paragraphs of a single review. It is filled with passages over which the reader must pause—illuminating passages, provocative passages, irritating passages, inconsistent passages, any one of which might form the basis of an essay. I should like, for example, to spend time on Mr. Tillyard's chapters on the minor poems, too much neglected by some of the modern critics, and particularly to stop over his comments on the *Ode* (pp. 35-42 and *passim*), which seem to me in many ways the best comments yet made on that poem; and then to suggest, as indicative of the curious unevenness of the volume as a whole, the difference between that penetrating section and the author's casual dismissal of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, which surely require new treatment in the light of his own main thesis. I should like most of all to stop over the general interpretation of Milton's character which emerges from this volume, and to discuss it in the light of other recent treatments of Milton—notably Saurat's—for, like these other interpretations, Mr. Tillyard's is at once arresting and provocative.

But the real importance of this work seems to me to lie less here than in Mr. Tillyard's method of reaching his conclusions about Milton. I do not propose at this moment to enter into a debate in regard to his aesthetic theory as a whole (cf. p. 239), but must content myself temporarily with examining briefly two of the methods which he considers most valuable in seeking to reconstruct "the state of mind, valuable or otherwise, revealed by the sum of all the elements of a poem." The reader soon becomes aware of Mr. Tillyard's constant stress upon the use of two clues: the conscious structure of the work of art, and "the frequent importance in Milton of the covert meaning," as indices to the mind of the artist. I agree that both of these are very important, and, indeed, the great merit of this volume seems to me to lie in the author's constant insistence upon them. But though I agree with the theory, I find myself almost constantly disagreeing with the application of it.

"Critics," says Mr. Tillyard, "are still apt to forget how important a part of the meaning of a work of literature the construction may be" (p. 239). With his insistence upon the "sense of control" one feels in Milton, the con-

stant awareness of the artist of the plan and design of his work, I agree. Milton is of all English poets the most architectural; there is nothing fortuitous, nothing undesigned in any of his work after he reaches artistic maturity. But it is just because I agree with his theory that I disagree with Mr. Tillyard's analysis of the structure of *Lycidas*, *Paradise Lost*, and *Paradise Regained*. For the reader cannot fail to notice that again and again Mr. Tillyard is puzzled in his own reconstruction of that plan, that he comments upon the "difficulty" and the "inconsistency" now of this section, now of that. My feeling is that while his method is excellent, Mr. Tillyard has not yet seen clearly what the structure was in the mind of the architect. His outlines are still blurred; Milton's surely were not.

Likewise it seems to me that the validity of Mr. Tillyard's analysis of Milton's "unconscious meaning" in *Paradise Lost* which he holds so important (pp. 276 ff.) rests ultimately upon his interpretation of the "conscious meaning" (pp. 257 ff.). Here again I agree with his insistence that "everything was meant to be subordinate to the human drama," and hence that for Milton "the Fall was necessarily the most poignant event in the history of the world." Inevitably, then, Milton's interpretation of what the Fall implies must be of the utmost importance. But though I agree with the premises, again I cannot accept the conclusions, and for the same reason as before. On the basis of what Mr. Tillyard himself has said of Milton's character and his art, I cannot believe that, concerned as he always was with universal problems and eternal values, Milton devoted his most difficult years to the hard labor of his task of writing the greatest of Christian epics, to prove that the ultimate sin of woman—the sin in which she has involved all mankind—was "triviality of mind" (p. 260), while that of Adam was "uxoriousness" (p. 262). And I am persuaded that Mr. Tillyard does not quite believe it either! For if we apply to him that test which he has applied to Milton and watch for lines in which he gives away his own "unconscious meaning," we can see that he is not satisfied. "The last line is curiously inconsistent," he notes (p. 263); "The last line seems to show that Milton recognises a prior cause of Adam's fall" (p. 263); and still again he finds it necessary to comment upon "the curious shift of motive" (p. 265). Whatever Milton's theory of the Fall may have been—and I think he has gone to some pains to make it clear—we may rest assured that it was in his own mind consistent, and that it was tremendous enough and universal enough to warrant the epic it produced. I feel that here, as in his study of the structure of the works, Mr. Tillyard is well on the way to seeing what that plan was; but in both cases I must confess to a sense of disappointment that he did not wait to say his last word until both structure and meaning had become as luminous and clear in his mind as I am persuaded they were in Milton's.

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The Relation of Carlyle to Kant and Fichte. By MARGARET STORRS.
Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Bryn Mawr College, 1929. Pp. 101.

It is a common impression that woven into the involved texture of Carlyle's teachings there is a body of relatively authentic German transcendentalism. In the *Miscellanies* and especially in *Sartor Resartus* one is supposed to find a brilliant and dependable expression of certain doctrines of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Novalis. If one amends this statement to say that it is true in the main, or for popular comprehension, or true in so far as a literary style and an imaginative approach permit an accurate exposition, the statement still remains unconvincing to anyone who has glanced into Carlyle's sources. Even a general reader with a smattering of philosophical knowledge will at moments have his doubts. Did Carlyle ever really comprehend Kant and Fichte? Did he ever truly read them? Was he as well acquainted with the *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* as with the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*? Was he at all familiar with Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre*, and did he read all of *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten*? To what extent did his native puritanism determine his eclecticism, and color the final doctrines which he enunciated in 1831 in *Sartor* and repeated with minor variations for half a century? What, fundamentally, did Carlyle want of the German idealists? Such questions suggest the nature of the problem which Miss Storrs has tried to solve. It is no easy problem. It involves elusive relations between temperaments, between ideas and their nuances, between terms that change their meanings as they are borrowed by various thinkers and subtly alter in the work of one man, as they do in Kant's first *Kritik*. And when the relation is not between two professional philosophers but between two philosophers and a writer with a creative waywardness, a strong individuality, and a literary style that transformed everything with its complex hues, then the difficulties of arriving at a universally acceptable solution seem insuperable. Finally, the inevitable subjectivity of opinion and interpretation will leave even the best solution always open to further inquiry.

Though on the whole Miss Storrs has succeeded admirably, certain shortcomings in her work should be noted at the outset. Her study would have benefited by a wider treatment. Instead of assuming that "the only sure way to determine Kant's actual influence on Carlyle is to compare their ideas, and to trace in Carlyle evidences of Kant's terminology and ways of thought," she might profitably have made a broader survey of the studies already available on the subject. Thus while she appraises the statements of Robertson in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, and of W. S. Johnson, Edward Caird, Ewald Flügel, Paul Hensel, and C. E. Vaughan, she neglects Camille Bos's provocative paper on "Le Kantisme de Carlyle" (*Archiv. f. Gesch. d. Philos.*, XV [1902], 32-41), Bernhard Fehr's "Der Deutsche Idealismus in Carlyles *Sartor Resartus*" (*Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, V [1913], 81-101), the reviewer's paper on "Carlyle's Interpretation of Kant" (*Philological Quarterly*, VII [1928], 345-57), and the more general studies by

Kraeger, Leopold, and Lehman. There is also a want of adequacy in her treatment of Fichte, especially of his interpretation of history. More specifically, there may be some doubt if Kant's categorical imperative should be introduced into the discussion at all, since there is no evidence that Carlyle ever read the *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* or the *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*, and since, as Miss Storrs ably shows, Carlyle's "imperative" resembles Calvin's more than Kant's. Some mention might be made of Carlyle's frequent consideration of time and space as forms of "man's spiritual being," of his "thinking nature," rather than of perception ("Novalis," pp. 25-26, in Carlyle's *Works*, Centenary ed.). Further, a cavilling reader might quarrel with the assertion, opposing C. E. Vaughan's, that in the early essays Carlyle is not "mortally afraid of casting his pearls before swine." The tone of various passages in "The State of German Literature" (1827) and "Novalis" (1829) suggests to many readers that Carlyle had not yet dared to adopt his bold and bludgeoning manner, and that, preaching the unpopular doctrine of "German mysticism," he was conscious of spreading the jewels of transcendentalism before vulgar and uncomprehending eyes. Perhaps a more serious criticism of Miss Storrs's work is that she has apparently made the mistake of considering Carlyle's beliefs constant and unchanging. The truth would seem to be that, within limits, Carlyle believed different things about the world at different times. Thus he may write as if the external world were created largely "by the human understanding in the process of perception," and later as if he accepted Berkeleyan spiritualism, and still later as if external objects are externally given. The miscellaneous character of Carlyle's thought is plain on a single page of "Novalis," where in discussing idealism he mentions Fichte, Tieck, Kant and "Kantism," Berkeley, Boscovich, Sir William Jones, and Dugald Stewart. The natural difficulty of determining just what Carlyle thought of the metaphysical problems which he handled so ambiguously probably accounts for the negative character of much in Miss Storrs's conclusions. The similarities between the ideas of Carlyle and those of Kant and Fichte "lie rather in word than in fundamental idea."

This brings us to the excellences of the work. Part I, "The Debt to Kant," is the best discussion of this subject to date. We are shown how Carlyle neglected Kant's great effort to explain the possibility of synthetic a priori judgments, to set up the categories of the understanding, and to reveal a dual world of phenomena and noumena; and how Carlyle seized upon the ideality of space and time, stressing the phenomenal nature of time rather than the nature of both as forms of perception, and applied it to an immanent monism suggestive of Fichte. Biblical eternity and the essential unreality of matter were thus illuminated for him, even if violence had been done to the original conceptions of Kant. Knowledge of, and communion with, the divine immanent reality was possible through Kant's *Reason*, transformed by Carlyle, through a reading of Fichte and Novalis, into "a blend of intellectual intuition, mystical communion, and moral revelation." Readers of Kant will readily see, even from this crude and compressed statement of Carlyle's

borrowing, how Kant's teachings were misinterpreted and warped from their true directions to serve an alien purpose. It is clear also that where Carlyle understands Kant or appropriates any but those negative elements which revealed the fallacy of eighteenth-century materialism, it is only where Kant reinforces Carlyle's Calvinistic predisposition. Space will not permit dilating upon Miss Storrs's skill in tracing other influences and in achieving an admirable adequacy in her general account of the Kantian influence.

Though Carlyle cites Fichte more frequently than Kant, precise statement of indebtedness is extremely difficult, partly because he absorbed more of Fichte, and partly because Fichtean idealism is perhaps less amenable to clear and unambiguous statement than the critical problem of Kant. It is clear, however, that, on the whole, Carlyle is not an idealist in Fichte's sense; he seldom regards "outward objects as products of the thinking mind." A strong tendency to theism in Carlyle leads him to write as if "reality is that which reveals an idea, and not as [for Fichte] that which itself is an idea." He is not always consistent, however, since, on the subject of history, he conceives God both as immanent and as transcendent. God reveals himself in the "laws of the universe," in the process of history; yet he is not those laws or that activity; history and nature are "an open book wherein the wise may learn what are God's purposes on earth." Yet from Fichte came the notion of history as revelation of deity, of the hero as a superior vehicle of the divine idea, of alternating periods of faith and doubt, of work or moral striving as the destiny of man. The variations which Carlyle imposed upon these general ideas render the debt to Fichte an extremely broad one, in which a characteristic dissonance is to be noted between Fichte's "moral striving" to comprehend and actualize the world-plan of the idea, and Carlyle's frequent interpretation of "work" as "an actual job." The list of Carlyle's conceptions which Fichte would undoubtedly have rejected is indeed formidable: the hero as having exclusive communion with the divine idea, the literary hero as more divinely commissioned than the others, history as the essence of innumerable biographies, the despotic individualism of a "hero" like Frederick the Great, Carlyle's idea that "nothing that is wholly seen through has other than a trivial character," the superiority of the unconscious to the conscious in human affairs. Such a fundamental disparity as these notions indicate would argue that Carlyle borrowed but little from Fichte. Yet it is one of the weaknesses of Miss Storrs's work that she fails to show the final essence of Carlyle's debt. The influence was real, though broad and at times indirect; and the author's discussion of Fichte's contribution to Carlyle's philosophy is less final than the section devoted to Kant.

Kant, Fichte, and Carlyle "stand together against mechanism and hedonism." At bottom the Scotchman was drawn to the Germans because they were demonstrating both the moral and the intellectual fallacy of a hedonistic materialism. Whether he adhered to their doctrines in any specific way was of little moment to Carlyle; he was interested in importing from Königsberg, Jena, and Berlin certain teachings which would rehabilitate those Eccle-

fechan beliefs which he, as a late child of the *Aufklärung*, had divested of their wornout terminology. Throughout his eclecticism—in which he invaded authors like a monarch—the formative power of his puritan temperament fashioned from strange and seemingly disparate ideas a surprisingly coherent body of doctrine.

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Emerson and Asia. By FREDERIC IVES CARPENTER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. Pp. xiii+282.

The unity of subject in this book is only apparent. Persia, China, Arabian literature, have very little to do with the aspects of Hindu thought that undoubtedly attracted Emerson. A book dealing with Emerson and India in a more thorough manner would have been much more useful.

The Introduction and the first two chapters deal with the lure of Asia for Emerson. Chapter iii shows that Emerson was strongly attracted by the Neoplatonists and that their influence prepared him to welcome Asiatic ideas. Chapter iv, "Neoplatonism," presents the Neoplatonic element in Emerson's thinking. Chapter v, "The Wisdom of the Brahmins," deals with India. Then come chapters on "Persian Poetry," "Arabian Literature and the Koran," "The Zoroastrian Forgeries," "Confucius and China," and a short conclusion. An Appendix gives the list of oriental books that Emerson had read, and there is a Bibliography and an Index.

Much of the book is outside the main subject, which is a study of Emerson's thought in connection with oriental thought. Mr. Carpenter is fully justified in his study of Neoplatonism since Emerson's relationship to India is incomprehensible if we leave Neoplatonism out. But when we pass from the study of Indian thought to that of Persian poetry, we change the subject completely, and deal only with poetical emotions and picturesque but superficial elements. We return to our subject for a time with the Zoroastrian forgeries, which, like the Hermetic books (and these could be called "forgeries" with equal justice; in such cases the word "forgery" has a completely false modern connotation; most of the canonical books could also be called forgeries), belong to the Neoplatonic atmosphere. Then come China and Confucius, entirely unrelated to the main subject, and a conclusion entitled "Emerson, Asia, and Modern America," which is a regrettable piece of self-indulgence on the part of the author, who forgets himself so far as to bring in Eugene O'Neill, to prophesy an American Renaissance of orientalism, which he compares with the fourteenth-century Renaissance, and to conclude: "For the old generations not only pass away into Nirvana, but the new generations also come up out of Nirvana, and nourish themselves on the ideas of the prophets of the past."

I insist on the irrelevance of much of the book only because the central part of the study is important, and Mr. Carpenter could have done much

greater service still to scholarship by investigating more deeply the relationship between Emerson and oriental thought. But some astonishing inhibitions seem to exist in Mr. Carpenter's mind. He calls Neoplatonism "that strange philosophy." Well, it should not be strange to him if he studies it; and from the end of the Middle Ages to the present day it has not been strange to any cultured man. Spenser, Donne, Milton, Henry More and his group, Blake, Shelley, and many others are full of it, and the strange thing would have been that such a thinker as Emerson should not know it. Again, Mr. Carpenter says: "Neoplatonism and Oriental literatures alike deal with intangible ideas, vague concepts, and often undefined thoughts" (p. xi). This is gratuitous slander on Plotinus as well as on Sankara or his Buddhist predecessors, whose systems and writings are extremely precise and detailed, and not in the slightest vague and undefined.

The best thing in his book is the connection he establishes between Neoplatonism and India as parallel influences on Emerson's mind. Neoplatonism undoubtedly prepared the way for India. The historical connection between Neoplatonism and Indian thought can be either doubted or affirmed (Professor Bréhier, of the Sorbonne, has taught and written that the essence of Neoplatonism came from India),¹ but the similarities are striking. To a man like Emerson, who was a thinker rather than a scholar, the two influences would blend harmoniously. Mr. Carpenter has therefore rightly insisted on this unity.

But Mr. Carpenter does not seem to realize the essential difference which stands between Emerson (a Westerner and a modern) and both the ancient Neoplatonists and the Eastern thinkers. To the Neoplatonists of antiquity and to the Hindus, matter was an evil thing. The flesh and the world and the individual were evil things. No representative thinker in Europe or America has accepted that point of view (Schopenhauer being a case apart, and not representative of a European tradition); for it is opposed to the spirit of Western civilization, which is based on the acceptance and the study of material nature. Here is the reason of Emerson's horror of Buddhism, the expression of which Mr. Carpenter quotes (p. 149): "This remorseless Buddhism lies all around, threatening with death and night. . . . Every thought, every enterprise, every sentiment, has its ruin in this horrid Infinite which circles us and awaits our dropping into it."

This passage gives the key to Emerson's relationship to Neoplatonism and India. Historically, Hindu metaphysics proper, from Sankara onward, seems to derive from Buddhism, and in any case is consonant with it. Essentially therefore Emerson had to reject the spirit of Eastern philosophy. The case with Neoplatonism is different, for since the Renaissance the Christian Neoplatonists, from Pico della Mirandola onward, have righted this ancient Neoplatonic judgment on the world and made it Christian: they have changed the spirit of the system of which they have kept some of the technique. Consequently, Emerson, who lives really in the Christian tradition, could

¹ See *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, XXIII^e (1922), 257, 528-31.

accept this modern edulcorated Neoplatonism, as, say, Henry More and his school had done, but he could not accept India.

Mr. Carpenter is not at all clear on this point, and is puzzled and puzzling. He quotes Emerson's "Every spirit builds itself a house, and beyond its house a world, and beyond its world a heaven," and adds: "Here the Neoplatonism is clear. Emerson . . . is expounding the Neoplatonic doctrine that matter is the absence of spirit, and that to spirit all is possible" (p. 74).

No doubt; but the possibility that the ancient Neoplatonists insisted upon was the power of the spirit to get rid of this world, which is the absence of spirit; and Emerson insists on the power of the spirit to build this world. He is opposing the Neoplatonists. His title, "Nature as Language," moreover, is anti-Neoplatonic; to Plotinus and his disciples, nature was a degradation of the spirit, not the language. Here again the change in the conception of nature is made as early as Pico della Mirandola and the *Heptaplus*. In short, Emerson adopts some of the intellectual machinery of Plotinus and Proclus, but he uses that machinery, those arguments and illustrations, in a way directly opposed to the meaning the ancient masters put into them. Thus in his theory of poetry, Emerson uses Plotinus, who held that Art was superior to Nature, but yet that Art was an evil thing also as compared to the real spiritual world; whereas Emerson holds that Nature is good, only that Art may be better; neither Nature nor Art is evil for Emerson.

The chapter devoted to India ought to have been much longer, and Mr. Carpenter should have first explained in precise detail Emerson's ideas on personality and the ultimate value of the individual. Emerson's energetic protests against the Buddhists seem to show that when he understood the real meaning of Indian thought he rejected it violently, as any normal European or American does. The harmony between Emerson and Eastern thinkers is also purely formal. For instance (p. 98), the identity between the subject and the object is not specifically Indian. Emerson may have found it in India; but India used the idea to do away with the object first and ultimately to do away with the individual subject. Emerson uses it to no such purpose. Yet Mr. Carpenter writes: "Emerson may have found the vague foreshadowing of this idea in the Neoplatonists and Plato"—incidentally, he was much more likely to have found it fully expounded in German philosophy—"but the form and spirit of it he derived from Hindu literature." The form perhaps, though Germany is a more likely origin; the spirit certainly not. And then Mr. Carpenter says: "Emerson, although always a far-traveler, spent most of his life on the highways of Western thought" (p. 100). Which is true enough, but contradicts most of what he has written about India.

But if we keep in mind the essential difference between Emerson and the East—the different value put on nature and the individual—we can understand clearly their relationship. Emerson found many interesting ideas and arguments in the Indian thinkers. He was fascinated by them and used them abundantly, but with a purpose generally contradicting the purpose that was in the Indian mind.

Another interesting and important point that Mr. Carpenter has revealed but not sufficiently insisted upon is the relationship between Emerson and Germany. To a certain extent this governs much of Emerson's thought, and especially it governs his relationship to India. Now, Emerson's connection with the Germans seems to have been not at first hand, but through the French philosopher Cousin (p. 96). Here, however, we need Mr. Carpenter's further help. For the French stood in a peculiar relation to the Germans. Cousin, and after him the French romantics, were at first all enthusiastic about German philosophy and the theories of transcendence and immanence; but they realized as the century drew on that German metaphysics led to an abandonment of the idea of personality and of a personal God. Then, one by one, with Cousin still at their head, they turned away from the Germans, for they had never intended that. Therein lies perhaps the chief difference between French and German romanticism. To the end of their lives Cousin, Lamartine, and Hugo remained true to the idea of personality, even in God, and refused to be browbeaten by the German metaphysicians. Now, if Emerson followed Cousin, how did he stand on this matter? We have the right to ask Mr. Carpenter, since this will govern Emerson's relationship to the East; but Mr. Carpenter gives no answer.

When I have further protested against Mr. Carpenter's totally unacceptable identification of the Indian "Brahma" (in Emerson's poem) with "the modern concept of the conservation of energy, which declares that no electron is ever lost in the universe," I shall have done with criticism. For Mr. Carpenter accumulates several errors in that one page (pp. 113-14). He says: "From the point of view of the electron—of the energizing force—of Brahma, nothing ever dies," and adds that this explains Emerson's statement: "Then I discovered the Secret of the World; that all things subsist, and do not die, but only retire a little from sight and afterwards return again." Now Emerson meant one thing, and the Hindus meant a different thing, and our physicists meant (for they have changed that since) a third thing. If three things could be three opposites, these three would be, as one means life, in Emerson, the other death, with the Hindus, and the third has no metaphysical meaning at all.

Mr. Carpenter has tackled a very big subject. He ought to be congratulated on his flair and his courage more than on his results, although his parallelism of the Neoplatonic with the oriental influence in Emerson's mind is a valuable contribution to knowledge. It is to be hoped that he will not turn to another field, but will give us in due time a complete study, which can grow out of this preliminary survey, and which will be a very important addition to our understanding of American thought. Such a study will also prove that American thought is much more important and indeed more fundamental than Europe generally believes.

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BRIEFER MENTION

An important innovation in scholarly publishing has been undertaken, with every prospect of success, by the recently founded Facsimile Text Society. The aim of the Society is to make accessible, by means of the relatively inexpensive "offset process," printed books and manuscripts significant for various departments of intellectual and social history but of such rarity as to be out of the reach of the great majority of students. For the present at least its publications will be grouped in five series: (I) "Literature and Language"; (II) "History"; (III) "Philosophy"; (IV) "History of Science"; (V) "Economics, Political and Social Science." It is not intended to restrict the choice of texts to be reproduced either as to language or as to period, and the predominance of English books of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in the list of possible publications contained in the Society's first prospectus must be considered merely a reflection of the special interests of the scholars who, under the leadership of Professor F. A. Patterson, of Columbia University, helped to bring the organization into being. In the future, as the membership of the Society grows, it is hoped to broaden the range of selection so as to meet the needs of specialists in other periods and literatures as well, although precedence in publication will naturally be given to those works for which there appears to be the greatest immediate demand.

Within the first half-year of its existence the Society has issued five books. Literature is represented by John Donne's *Biathanatos* (London, 1646?), by *Poems on Several Occasions, by a Gentleman of Virginia* (Williamsburg, 1736), and by *Poems on Several Occasions by the Reverend Mr. Thomas Warton* (London, 1748); philosophy by *An Account of Virtue: or, Dr. Henry More's Abridgment of Morals Put into English* [by Edward Southwell] (London, 1690); and economics by Thomas Mun's *A Discourse of Trade from England unto the East-Indies* (1621). The volumes are printed on good paper and bound attractively in gray-blue boards, and each one is provided with a brief bibliographical Introduction by a competent scholar. For the most part the reproduction of the texts is admirably clear, though, as is bound to happen in any process involving the use of photostats, one meets occasionally with blurred marks of punctuation and other slight typographical imperfections (see, e.g., Warton's *Poems on Several Occasions*, p. 16, l. 6; p. 160, l. 7). Defects of this kind, however, are not numerous, and these volumes and those to follow may be commended enthusiastically to libraries which cannot afford the rare and expensive originals and to students who wish to build up their own collections of important sources.

The dues of the Society are five dollars a year, in return for which members are given books of their own selection to the amount of this fee and in addition are allowed to purchase other books at a discount of 33½ per cent from the list price. Communications should be addressed to The Facsimile Text Society, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.—R. S. C.

When Dr. Jakobsen compiled and published his *Etymologisk Ordbog over det norrøne Sprog paa Shetland*, he had good reasons for doing so in Danish, although the use of that language necessarily limited the number of those who could read it. His desire to prepare an English edition remained unfulfilled, and it is to an act of sisterly devotion to a brother's memory that we now owe the appearance of his work in our own tongue (*An Etymological Dictionary of the Norn Language in Shetland*, Part I, by Jakob Jakobsen. London and Copenhagen, 1928). Mrs. Horsbøl has not only accomplished a most arduous task in making this translation, but has succeeded in producing a book even more valuable in some ways than the original. The improvement is not only in the externals (both print and paper being better than in the *Ordbog*), but in the addition of extensive prefatory matter from Dr. Jakobsen's treatise on the Norn tongue in Shetland, giving much information on the history and character of the vocabulary, and in the elimination of some errors into which he had excusably fallen. Both in its form and in its contents the *Etymological Dictionary* is a splendid addition to the many separate glossaries of Scottish and English dialects which we already possess.

The Shetland vocabulary, as exhibited in these pages, presents many points of interest to the philologist. Its copiousness is remarkable, all the more when compared with the limited range of many dialects in more favorable surroundings. The conflict between two different but related tongues, Scoto-English and Norwegian, is exemplified on almost every page. Not all that is Norn in Shetland is a direct survival from "Norrøna"; some of it has clearly come in by the roundabout process of passing through Lowland Scottish. Frequently while the Norse origin of the word is obvious, it is impossible to find its exact counterpart in any of the Scandinavian tongues, ancient or modern. This is so often the case that we can scarcely credit Shetland with having had so large a special vocabulary of its own in the past. More probably the puzzling forms are the result of a linguistic confusion due to the interaction of the two languages. Where a Scandinavian equivalent or cognate form of any kind can be found Dr. Jakobsen may usually be trusted to have searched it out.

The work has not merely a linguistic interest, for many of the words are intimately connected with the life of the people and form a record of primitive occupations and habits. Naturally a large number of these relate to the great industry of fishing, and of this group not the least interesting are the many taboo words used when at sea, to which Dr. Jakobsen has given special attention.

The first volume contains the letters A to K. It is to be hoped that it will meet with sufficient support to enable Mrs. Horsbøl to proceed rapidly with the second volume, and complete a work of great interest to both English and Scandinavian scholars. It is a fortunate coincidence that it should appear at a time when a similar study of the Orkney dialect by Dr. Hugh Marwick is on the point of being published.—W. A. C.

An interesting publication is Karl Michaëlsson's *Etudes sur les Noms de personne français, d'après les rôles de taille Parisiens*. It belongs in the "Humanities Series of the Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift" (Uppsala: Lundequistska, 1927; pp. 192). The author has checked the MSS for the published rôles of 1292 and 1313. The unpublished tax lists, from 1296 to 1300 inclusive, have been utilized for the first time, and Michaëlsson intends to publish them at some future date. The present monograph is his Doctor's thesis and forms only Part I of a more complete study. Part II will be a *dictionnaire raisonné* of all the names in these seven *taille rôles*. This first part might well serve as a textbook for onomastics, a hitherto little-practiced branch of linguistic study. The author in his customary vigorous though painstaking manner has analyzed and sifted nearly all that has been written on the subject, notably the writings of Aebischer and Dauzat. The baptismal names are discussed from the viewpoint of frequency and hypocoristic variations; the surnames are classified according to their original sense: nicknames, trade names, place names, and names of characters in fiction. Points that are particularly emphasized are the importance played by social status in rendering surnames hereditary; also that hereditary second names became a necessity when the baptismal names had decreased markedly in number (after 1100) and when so many individuals of the same trade had one name in common. Dr. Michaëlsson's research methods are an inspiration to me. He is often mercilessly accurate in his criticisms, but this is always atoned for by the *justesse de son esprit*.—U. T. HOLMES.

In *Lancelot and Guenevere*, by Professors T. P. Cross and W. A. Nitze (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), the strength of co-operative work is shown. No scholar, perhaps, can be at home in medieval French, English, German, Latin, Welsh, and Irish, and yet an acquaintance with all of these languages and literatures is a part of the equipment required of anyone who would discuss the origins of an Arthurian romance. In this book Professor Cross writes the chapter on Celtic sources, and thus, in connection with the work of Professor Nitze, gives to the whole an impression of mastery at every point.

To find an error is not easy. A statement on page 6, note 1, "Brugger, *ZFSL*, XXVIII (1905), 12, thinks that *Bademaguz* is composed of *Bangon* and *Madus* (*Maduc*)" is incomplete. For the form *Bagommedes* Brugger advanced this suggestion, and it is true that he equated *Bagommedes* and

Bademagus. For *Bademagus*, however, he offered another suggestion, namely, that it is composed of *Baduc* and *Mangon*, and elsewhere I hope to bring evidence to support his idea.

The main conclusion of the book is that Guenevere was in origin a *fée* of the type found in Middle Irish stories, and this explains her tendency to be carried off. The implacable, wayward Irish *fée* furnished just the kind of heroine needed by Chrétien and others who wished to set forth in story form the doctrines of courtly love. The Irish *fée* agreed with the new type of great lady who established herself in twelfth-century France in at least two important respects: she expected her lover to be a willing slave, and she acknowledged no particular obligation to him. The argument is convincing. The particular type of abduction story found in Irish repeats itself in Chrétien's *Lancelot*. Professor Nitze shows that even some of the special marks of the Irish abduction story, for example the motive of delay, reappear in the French. The book as a whole marks a step forward in the study of the origins of Arthurian romance.—ARTHUR C. L. BROWN.

Vittorio Rossi for the last forty years has been winning, as teacher, the gratitude and affection of successive generations of students, and, as scholar, the gratitude and esteem of many other scholars, Italian by birth and interest, or Italian by interest alone.

In celebration of his fortieth academic anniversary, a large group of those who hold him thus in affection and esteem combined, under the direction of Galletti, Levi, and Toffanin, to make possible—something better than a *Festschrift*—a three-volume collection of essays, studies, and addresses by Rossi himself, published under the title *Scritti di critica letteraria* (Florence: Sansoni, 1930). Most of them had been previously published; but they gain from their new association with each other, and through the revision which they have undergone in the preparation of this collection. Many of Rossi's most notable studies have been published in periodicals whose dissemination, outside of Italy, at least, is not wide. It is a particular convenience and satisfaction to have so many of these less accessible studies brought together in this collection.

The first volume, *Saggi e discorsi su Dante*, contains thirteen Dante studies, among them the finely analytical and appreciative *Dolce stil nuovo*, and three unpublished *Lecturae Dantis*, dealing respectively with the last two cantos of the *Inferno*, the last canto of the *Purgatorio*, and the twentieth canto of the *Paradiso*. The second volume, *Studi sul Petrarca e sul Rinascimento*, contains the basically important monographs *Il Petrarca a Pavia* and *Il codice latino 8568 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi e il testo delle "Familiari"* del Petrarca, five other Petrarch studies, and nine studies dealing with men and writings of the Trecento and the Quattrocento. The third volume, *Dal Rinascimento al Risorgimento*, more miscellaneous in character, contains three studies grouped under the heading *Per la storia della scuola*, four on *Uomini, idee e beffe del*

Cinquecento, two on *Biblioteche veneziane del Settecento*, two *Studi foscoliani*, three *Discorsi*, of which the second, *La cultura italiana fuori d'Italia nell'età del Rinascimento*, is new, and two *Commemorazioni*.

The first volume contains a portrait of Rossi, a list of the subscribers, in which Czechoslovakia, England, Egypt, France, Germany, Roumania, Spain, Switzerland, Tunis, and the United States, as well as Italy, are represented, and a Bibliography of Rossi's scholarly publications, including reviews, which runs to 434 numbers.—E. H. W.

Of books on Rousseau there is no end; but rarely does one come across a commentary as moderate, as sane, and as intellectually honest as Professor E. H. Wright's *The Meaning of Rousseau* (Oxford University Press, 1929. Pp. vi+158). Starting with the sadly true remark that the criticism of a century and a half has done more to obscure Rousseau than to clarify him, he undertakes to state what Rousseau actually meant. A man whom such widely different interpreters as Kant, Höfding, and Lanson have regarded as a great thinker cannot have been the mere tissue of contradictions which unsympathetic critics have wanted to find in him. Professor Wright is convinced that the contradictions of Rousseau lie merely in some occasional paradoxes, or are due to an inadequate philosophical language. He sums up the leading ideas of Rousseau in four chapters on "the natural man," "the natural education," "the natural society," and "the natural religion." The word "natural" is thus the fundamental term of Rousseau's philosophy, provided we interpret it rightly. Professor Wright explains away all apparent inconsistencies, and presents Rousseau's ideas as a rigorous logical system, where "natural" means, not the savagery of our primeval ancestors, but the ideal state toward which we are traveling. The traditional and distorted Rousseau thus becomes a believer in perfectibility and a rationalist; Professor Wright, indeed, compares the *Profession de Foi du Vicaire Savoyard* to the *Discours de la Méthode*: "Cogito, ergo sum" and "sentio, ergo sum" are two formulas closely akin; they both mean, "I have consciousness, therefore I am." Rousseau was even a truer rationalist than his contemporaries such as D'Holbach or Helvétius—a rationalist who fought hard to keep reason within its proper bounds.

The book is the result of original thought, condensed in striking phrases, vivid and clear throughout. Some readers, admirers of Rousseau though they may be, will demur at the effort to present Rousseau as a faultless logician. There is unity in Rousseau, but it may be a less rigid one, it may be that unity in duality which Professor Schinz has recently offered as the key to the Rousseau enigma. Is not Rousseau, after all, greater and more human with his contradictions than without them, just as Saint-Preux and Julie are more true to life when they forget to reason like well-trained logicians and become inconsistent and passionate? We may disagree with the author; but it is one

of the merits of this brilliant little book that it will make us think honestly and sanely about Rousseau. This is not too often the case, and we owe much gratitude to Professor Wright.—HENRI PEYRE.

L'Épithète dans les Œuvres lyriques de Victor Hugo publiées avant l'exil, par Mysie E. I. Robertson, docteur ès lettres (Paris: Champion, 1927. Pp. 560).—Cet ouvrage est divisé en trois parties. Dans la première, l'épithète est définie et présentée sous toutes ses formes d'après les plus récents travaux de linguistique. Elle est étudiée comme moyen littéraire et revue dans son évolution historique jusqu'à V. Hugo. La seconde renferme le sujet propre du travail. La troisième marque le caractère de l'épithète dans les six recueils considérés, la compare à celle des poètes contemporains et trace son influence sur les successeurs.

De cet examen, il ressort clairement ceci: amorphe et incolore, adjectif ou participe, telle était l'épithète que V. Hugo trouva à ses débuts. Il introduisit une variété infinie dans ses formes grammaticales et accrut son importance littéraire d'une façon remarquable. Sous sa plume, elle contribue à l'effet, à la précision, même à la concision. Elle évoque et réalise, caractérise et suggère, elle introduit des nuances dans les sensations et les émotions. De toutes les parties du discours, c'est pour elle que le poète réformateur a le plus fait.

Grâce à la traduction des poèmes arabes de Fouinet et aux souvenirs d'Espagne, les *Orientales* sont une date, car elles marquent un pas décisif. Le poète y acquiert la maîtrise du maniement de l'épithète. Dans les deux recueils suivants, il y a halte et même recul. Dans les *Voix Intérieures*, reparaissent les trouvailles, mais plus habilement et finement utilisées. Enfin, les *Rayons* et les *Ombres* fortifient les positions conquises.

Ces pages contribuent à préciser la nature du génie poétique de V. Hugo et à déterminer la part prépondérante des changements heureux que lui doit le français du XIX^{me} siècle.—HENRI DAVID.

Théophile Gautier a enfin l'étude qu'il mérite (*Les Années romantiques de Théophile Gautier*, par René Jasinski. Paris: Vuibert, 1929. Pp. 335). Elle ne va pas au delà de 1836, mais elle couvre la période la plus importante et la moins connue, celle où l'homme s'est formé, où l'écrivain fut nettement romantique. M. Jasinski présente un poète autre que celui d'*Emaux et camées*, un Jeune-France débarrassé de son gilet rouge et ... de bon nombre de légendes. Sa méthode est rigoureuse. Le connu a été bluté et la fleur évaluée à nouveau; de l'inconnu a été mis à jour. Chaque œuvre, placée à sa date et dans son milieu, prend sa valeur vraie. Liseur infatigable, Gautier a la tête pleine de souvenirs dont il importe de découvrir les sources pour marquer les influences et observer leur jeu sur son art. De cet examen se dégage un esprit alerte, sensible aux ambiances, curieux de formules, au fond très classique par sa tendance à l'imitation, condition pour lui de la perfection. Passionné

pour les créations de l'homme, Gautier se plaît à retrouver le monde en elles et elles sont les véhicules obligés des choses qu'elles représentent.

M. Jasinski a utilisé tous les instruments de l'histoire littéraire, chacun manié avec sûreté et ... discrétion. Cette réserve lui a ouvert des correspondances privées, précieux adjuvants. Quant à l'appréciation littéraire, elle est égale à la méthode. M. Jasinski aime son poète, mais sa sympathie l'éclaire sans l'éblouir. Gautier n'est pas obscur ou recherché, mais il est complexe et délicat et sa sensibilité un peu ombrageuse demande d'adroits coups de sonde. Cette analyse patiente et perspicace, qui manquait à notre connaissance de Gautier, révèle plus d'un détail insoupçonné. En outre, il y avait des solitudes à défricher et le labeur est ici assez grand pour que dans cette étude abondante en résultats, tous ne puissent être présentés. Les détails éliminés trouveront leur place dans les éditions critiques que M. Jasinski se réserve de publier (*España* a paru [Paris: Vuibert, 1929. Pp. 292]. Le reste des vers est sous presse).

Une revue critique de l'opinion contemporaine accompagne l'étude de chaque publication de Gautier. Dans la plupart des cas, elle légitime l'irritation de l'auteur à l'égard de la presse. Celle-ci flairait en lui un respect de l'art au mépris de tout ce qui ne l'était pas. *Inde irae*.

Les conclusions de cette étude se dégagent d'elles-mêmes, car l'auteur possède un double don toujours rare: la sûreté de l'analyse et la clarté de l'exposition. Plus d'une opinion courante dans les manuels de littérature est à écarter ou à modifier. Quoi qu'on pense des déductions de M. Jasinski, il faut bien admettre qu'elles sont logiques. Rien n'est avancé qui ne soit soutenu par les faits, expliqué par une psychologie déliée, avertie et vérifiée dans ses parties par l'ensemble.—HENRI DAVID.

Blanche Poulot Crawford's *Noëls et Noëlistes bourguignons: Bernard de la Monnoye et Aimé Piron* (Dijon: Vve P. Berthier. Pp. 183) shows that the regionalistic movement is still growing in France. After the novelists, the scholars began to show an interest in, and to retrieve, the old customs and songs of the provinces, and today the number both of novels and works of erudition based on them is increasing.

Burgundy offers a fertile and virtually unexplored region to the scholar in this field. Besides the work of Clément-Janin and of J. Durandeau in the last century, and in our own time that of M. Gaston Roupnel, the eminent professor at the University of Dijon, few investigations have been made of the social and literary history of this province.

Mrs. Crawford has undertaken a study of the Christmas carols in the patois of Burgundy, and of their two principal authors. She opens with a definition of the genre and a discussion of its origin. Then after a rapid survey of the renaissance of patois poetry in France at the beginning of the eighteenth century, she enters upon a study of the two best-known of the Burgundian carolers, Bernard de la Monnoye and Aimé Piron. The former was an officer

of the fiscal court of Dijon, a scholar and a man of letters at the same time. His work, except the *Noël borguignon* (known to Longfellow), is now virtually forgotten. His carols, which are conceded to be masterpieces of grace and malice, are indeed models of cynicism, irony, and skepticism, and as such may with justice be counted among the productions of the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth that announced the philosophic movement of the second half of the latter century. Mrs. Crawford shows that, curiously enough, La Monnoye did not speak the patois he used in his carols, and, contrary to what has hitherto been thought, that he did not make his début as a writer of patois with his carols, for he had written as early as 1682 a dialect poem which has generally been attributed to Piron.

Piron, a man quite different in temper from his illustrious townsman, is, among the authors of carols, the only one who is genuinely Burgundian. An apothecary by profession and, in his moments of idleness, a poet, Aimé, the father of the more renowned Alexis, exhibits in his songs a mixture of malice, raciness, and naïve faith which makes of him one of the most attractive popular figures of the Dijon of his time. After these two poets the genre degenerates and is forgotten.

Mrs. Crawford's entertaining study is written in a lively style. It contains a picturesque account of the Dijon of those days; the treatment of the two poets is done with enough skill to make them concrete and lifelike, and their poems are analyzed with insight. One feels that the author, herself a Burgundian who has spent most of her life in Dijon, is interested in her subject and loves her two poets. However, one regrets that the part dealing with the carols in general is so skimmed; and a comparison between the carols of the various provinces would have been interesting. The reader who is not himself a Frenchman and a Burgundian very frequently feels the need of a glossary in order fully to understand the quotations, which might indeed have been more copious. The two poems of 1682 on the birth of the Duke of Burgundy might well have been given in their entirety. Finally, one might prefer less hesitation and more certainty in the attribution of certain poems to Piron.—N. H. CLEMENT.

Since information about Portuguese custom and tradition is not readily available, Hermann Urtel's "Beiträge zur portugiesischen Volkskunde" (*Abhandlungen aus d. Gebiet d. Auslandskunde* [Hamburg: Hamburgische Universität, 1928], XXVII, p. 82, Pl. 4) is altogether welcome. The essay supplies a brief and helpful conspectus of folkloristic studies in Portugal and collections of materials on subjects such as gestures (pp. 4-22),¹ amulets,² annual festivals, trees and plants, werwolves,³ stars, and so on. In general, the invaluable *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* would have enabled the editor to put his materials in the proper perspective.—A. T.

¹ On crossing the legs (mentioned on pp. 7, 20), see Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, *Schweiz. Arch. f. Volksk.*, XXVI (1925), 47 ff., and his note in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, s.v. "Beine kreuzen."

² See also the important article in the *Handwörterbuch*.

³ See C. T. Stewart, *Zeits. des Ver. f. Volksk.*, XIX (1909), 30 ff.

